1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

# CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE PLATEAU OF NORTHWESTERN AMERICA

BY

VERNE F. RAY

LOS ANGELES
1939

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# PREFACE

The present paper represents the culmination of ten years of intermittent work in the Plateau. During that time every group in the area has been visited, though in some cases for brief periods only. Some of the work has been done in pursuance of general ethnography, some in the investigation of special problems. Most of the field work has been sponsored by the University of Washington. 114

A considerable amount of new material is included here, much of which was obtained for the specific purposes of the discussion. This includes material from the Carrier, Chilcotin, Shuswap, Lillooet, Lower Thompson, Lakes, Kutenai, Kalispel, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Yakima, Tenino, Umatilla, and Cayuse. Where objective cultural data are presented in the following pages without footnote references, the source is original. [101]

Some of these data were gathered in conjunction with the recording of culture element lists for the Department of Anthropology of the University of California. The funds for the element list work were provided by the University of California; the expenses of the concurrent investigations were borne by the University of Washington. The relative completeness of some of the data in this paper is in no small degree the result of the extensive scope of the element list studies, and of fruitful investigations based upon suggestions thereby obtained. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the close cooperation and kindly encouragement of Dr A. L. Kroeber throughout this work. 122

I wish to extend sincere thanks to Dr Leslie Spier for his ever generous assistance and valued counsel. I am indebted to Dr Diamond Jenness for the use of his enlightening manuscript on Carrier religion. Informal conversations with Dr Irving Goldman furnished many useful hints for general orientation of Carrier culture. Dr George Peter Murdock kindly provided information from his field notes on the Tenino.

VERNE F. RAY

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

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# CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE PLATEAU OF NORTHWESTERN AMERICA

## INTRODUCTION

131 THE Plateau of northwestern America, considered geographically, lies between the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Cascade Mountains on the west. The northern boundary is roughly the great bend of the Fraser River, while on the south this plateau merges with the Colorado Plateau.

In application to the cultural area the term is to a certain extent a misnomer. In the north, tribal areas include adjacent mountainous regions and a number of geological trenches. In fact, the area is quite rough and broken and geologists customarily speak of the interior "plateaus" rather than "plateau." Furthermore, considerable portions of the territories of two tribes, the Kutenai and the Flathead, lie east of the Rocky Mountains.

101 131 On the south the boundary is quite arbitrary so far as geography is concerned. Along the east slope of the Cascades the Plateau extends to the California border (to include the Klamath), but farther east the Blue Mountains mark the southern limit. The boundary, more specifically, is that separating Sahaptin and Shoshonean peoples. But even here there is an exception. The Modoc, southernmost of the Sahaptins, exhibit a culture of Californian aspect.[1]

114 181 For a long while the Plateau was looked upon as an area of lowly cultural development entirely lacking in individuality. This attitude is typically expressed by Spinden in the conclusion to his study of the Nez Percé Indians:

> One important fact stands out clearly. The culture of the [Plateau] area, as shown by one of its representative tribes, was purely a transitional culture. Its elements were drawn in nearly equal proportion from the Plains and from the Pacific coast. Only a small residuum of autochthonous ideas are found when the borrowed ones are excluded.[2]

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[1] Information from Dr Leslie Spier, 1937. My own field work with the Modoc in 1938 points to the same conclusion.

[2] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 270.

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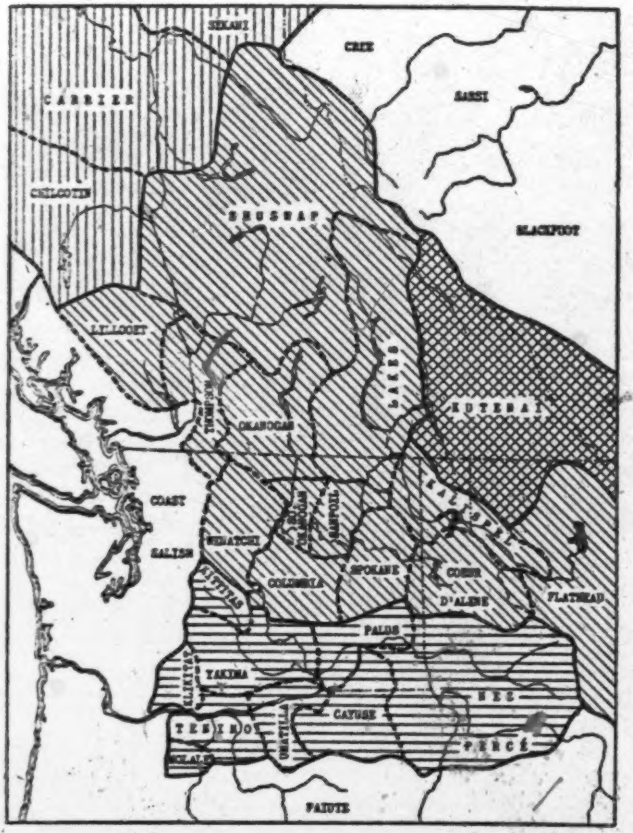
SEKANI
CREE
CARRIER
SARSI
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAP
BLACKFOOT
LILLOOET
LAKES
THOMPSON
KUTENAI
OKANOGAN
COAST
SALISH
SO. OKANOGAN
SANPOIL
KALISPEL
WENATCHI
COLUMBIA
SPOKANE
COEUR
D'ALENE
FLATHEAD
KITTITAS
PALUS
YAKIMA
KLIKITAT
NEZ
CAYUSE
TENINO
UMATILLA
PERCÉ
MOLALE
PAIUTE

MAP 1. Linguistic stocks in the Plateau. *Horizontal hatching:* Sahaptin; *diagonal hatching:* Salish; *vertical hatching:* Athabascan; *cross hatching:* Kutenai.

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On the maps throughout this paper the solid lines indicate linguistic stock boundaries; the broken lines separate ethnic or tribal groups. A few groups, for which little or no information is available, are omitted. Thus in the northern part of the territory assigned to the Wenatchi are found the Chelan and Methow; in the eastern lobe of the territory including the Sanpoil are the Colville; to the east of the Yakima are the Wayampam; southwest of the Palus are the Walula. The specific locations of these groups may be found in Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 85; Ray, *Village Locations*, maps; Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 386. In indicating distributions on the maps it has been assumed that the Chelan and Methow agree in culture with the Wenatchi, the Colville with the Sanpoil. We know this to be justified in general, but small corrections may be necessary in the future. The name Sanpoil is

Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of 114
this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray 181
in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[3] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which 121
the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Pla- 121
teau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But 177
not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, 102
*Sanpoil and Nespelem*). 197

The Sahaptin-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the
nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is 113
discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[3] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

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# SOCIAL CULTURE

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

### General Orientation

101 A clear picture of political organization in the Plateau is indis-
114 pensable to a proper understanding of intra-areal relations in other
174 aspects of culture, and at the same time illuminates important historical
621 problems of inter-areal character. In any general American perspective the cultures of the Pacific slope stand together in contrast to those east of the Cordillera. Kroeber pointed this out many years ago, emphasizing, among other traits, the atomistic nature of political organization in the west:

> 114 From Alaska to California there does not appear to have been a group that
> 174 could be designated as a political unit, other than what it is usual to call the
> 621 village; that is, the settlement on one spot. These villages may often have been in a state of neutrality toward each other, or even linked by peaceful trade, inter-marriage, and participation in each other's ceremonies and festivals; but they were linked like nations of the civilized world, whose intercourse, however intimate, friendly, and long enduring, is always as it were in a condition of suspense, because built on nothing more than the occasions of the moment, the states being irreconcilable units.[1]

This separatism is carried to the highest degree by the Indians of northwestern California, where even a village is not looked upon as a political unit, and chiefs are lacking entirely.[2] Such near-anarchy is, however, characteristic of but a small area, and the general coastal pattern of village autonomy must not be looked upon as a negative trait, as might be suggested by this extreme. Indeed, even in northwestern California the condition is in a sense a positive one, with group action achieved through the influence of rich men whose leadership is respected. It is the lack of distinct village unity that sets off northwestern California, rather than the nature of the leadership. Northward throughout the coastal strip, "chieftainship" is correlated with high rank, wealth, and often with sib leadership. But always the village is definitely recognized as the political unit.

This is not a mere matter of passive recognition or acceptance, however. Village autonomy is strongly defended; it is considered right and proper. In 1819 Franchère, the fur trader, wrote of the Lower Chinook,

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[1] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 396.

[2] Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 830–33.

"All of the villages form so many independent sovereignties. . . . Each 114
village has its chief."[3] My own Chinook informants affirmed the exist- 194
ence of village autonomy; they pointed out that able or well-liked 621
village chiefs may exert an influence over other villages but insisted
that this extended power is strictly unofficial.

In coastal British Columbia, unilinear descent groups make their appearance and divide the political composition of the village. But the political integrity is maintained, even though any one chief must of necessity be a member of but one lineage. Indeed, the very existence of these sib groups has been attributed by Sapir to the splitting and uniting of villages. The villagers'

> adherence to their respective traditions will be such that neither of the former village communities will give up its peculiar set of privileges, so that a twofold division of the community, as accentuated by these privileges, will persist. If we imagine this process to have occurred several times, we will gradually arrive at a community which is subdivided into several smaller units which we may call septs or bands, or perhaps even clans, each of which has its distinct stock of legendary traditions and privileges exercised by its titled representatives and whose former connection with a definite locality is still remembered.[4]

Despite these disruptions and individualities of tradition, the political unity of the village is maintained.

Murdock points out that Haida chiefs are strictly house or clan officials:

> The clan chief is always also a house chief, usually the richest and most powerful in the village. He holds his position by inheritance and cannot be deposed. His authority depends upon his wealth, personality, and prestige. [However,] where several clans inhabit a village, one of their chiefs may enjoy more prestige than the others, but this is due solely to his superior wealth or social status or to the number and strength of his followers.[5]

Even here, in the face of impressive clan dominance, the village is not lost as a political unit; at least no substitute or larger political unit emerges.

The specialized character of village autonomy on the Pacific slope is further indicated by contrast with conditions on the Asiatic side of Bering Strait. There the small local group is seldom independent; larger

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[3] Franchère, *Narrative*, p. 250.

[4] Sapir, *Social Organization*.

[5] Murdock, *The Haidas*, pp. 237 f.

114 affiliations are emphasized. It cannot be argued, therefore, that western
174 America is merely passive debtor to Siberia.[6]

621 The wide perspective of the observations above, and the emphasis on the extreme coastal strip, is necessary as a background for discussion of Plateau organization since the latter conforms to the general western political atomism. We may now examine specific Plateau patterns.

### VILLAGE AUTONOMY

At the extreme south, Spier found that

> 101
> 114 The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or possibly
> 619 five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically autonomous. . . . The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the name Klamath for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism.[7]

Murdock found similar conditions among the Tenino.

> They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the [Columbia] river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions [were] originally independent though always friendly.[8]

This unique arrangement of pairs of villages illustrates the depth of the village unit concept and indicates a persistent village allegiance.

Still farther north, among the Sanpoil, the village is equally emphasized in the political sense, but citizenship is less stable.

> The Sanpoil political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "xᵘ", or both. No term existed for any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division. The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom

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[6] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 397.

[7] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 21 f.

[8] Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 396.

even conferred with another. They treated each other with respect, but each maintained complete independence. 101

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Village composition was very fluid. A person was bound in no way to any particular village. He was privileged to change his residence at any time, selecting as his new home any village of the group. Families often lived for a few years at one location, tired of it or became dissatisfied, and moved to another settlement. This might be continued indefinitely. On the other hand a certain proportion of the Sanpoil remained in their respective villages throughout life but this sedentary group was always in the minority.[9]

Among the neighboring Southern Okanogan Walters ascertained that theory of organization and citizenship parallels that of the Sanpoil, but practice varies somewhat. They

> have only band chiefs and deny that any man was ever head chief over their entire tribe [cultural group]. Taking into consideration that each band is autonomous, it is not possible to speak of the Southern Okanagon as a tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a group functioning as a unified political whole. . . . A man may fish, hunt and gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere.
>
> An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Southern Okanagon child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to the Southern Okanagon mind, a Blackfoot of Southern Okanagon parentage.
>
> Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year.[10]

These data place the Southern Okanogan intermediate between the Tenino, with rigid village composition, and the Sanpoil with marked instability of population. In theory of local autonomy all three, together with the Klamath, are one.

The degree of village integrity in this area is particularly well shown by settlements of ethnically mixed composition. There is never a division of control, or emphasis upon former nationalities, even where persons of quite different cultural origins are intermingled. An example is the village of Kartaro, situated midway between Sanpoil and South-

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[9] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 109.

[10] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 73, 87.

101 114 619 ern Okanogan centers, in which the population consists of almost equal numbers from the Okanogan Valley and the Nespelem Valley. If specifically asked, a non-native resident of Kartaro will give the village of former residence; but if merely questioned, "What is your nationality?" the invariable response is, "I am Skartaro [ska·γta′x$^{u}$]." This is the equally invariable answer of the native born or the man whose residence was established but recently. Furthermore, the latter holds equal authority with the former in the village assembly.

An even more impressive example is a joint village of the Kittitas and Wenatchi near the present town of Leavenworth. Conditions quite similar to those described above obtain, even though the Kittitas and Wenatchi belong to different linguistic stocks! The diversity of language does not, as a matter of fact, greatly hinder intercourse; most members of the two groups are bilingual.

Examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely; they occur along almost every sub-cultural boundary line.

Local autonomy is stressed throughout the Canadian Plateau, except for the Lakes and Kutenai. The Athabascan Chilcotin and Carrier are definitely aligned with their Salish neighbors in this respect, but it is the Sekani who carry the principle to the greatest extreme. Jenness writes:

> The Sekani of northern British Columbia comprise a number of bands with no central organization and very little unity. . . . The Sekani themselves have no common name that covers all their subdivisions, but only names for the separate bands.[11]

These small, mobile bands correspond to the villages of the more sedentary peoples to the south, and thus the organization exhibited is identical.

Throughout the discussion above the easternmost Plateau groups have been ignored, or mentioned only as exceptions. Their location suggests the reason: Plains influence has led to a tendency toward tribal organization in the true sense. The Plateau is thus split longitudinally with respect to political organization. But before discussing this divergent pattern it is necessary to answer a question regarding those groups already considered.

### ETHNIC AFFILIATION

101 Why, in the light of these facts pertaining to village or band auton-

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619 [11] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 5; cf. Morice, *Great Dené Race*, pp. 138 f.

omy, are names such as Sekani, Sanpoil, and Tenino used? If the people 101 themselves had no such common names and no common organization, 619 why are they introduced into the discussion, apparently in self-contradiction? The answer is partly historical, partly theoretical. Early settlers, traders, missionaries, and government officials carried with them from the east the notion that all Indian groups were of necessity organized along tribal lines. Upon learning a village name from a native the whites immediately and indiscriminately applied it to all Indians of the vicinity. The term Sanpoil, for example, is a French corruption of the native name (snpui·ˈluxʷ) of the people who lived in a single village (npui·ˈluxʷ) located at the mouth of the Sanpoil River. Likewise, the term Kittitas is derived from the name of a single village (k'tι'tás). In other cases a name of English or French derivation was applied arbitrarily, such as Colville, Columbia, and Thompson. Sometimes a name referred to a striking feature of culture, such as Carrier. (This name apparently refers to the custom of the widow carrying the bones of her deceased husband on her back.) Early attempts at more objective classification frequently proceeded along linguistic rather than political lines. Thus we have the Spokane, but the name is applied to a group noncoincident with the dialect. The whole procedure of naming has been complicated and confounded by the establishment of arbitrary Indian service administration units, and by reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation. These designations have seldom been adopted by the Indians themselves, even to this day. Many a Sanpoil or Kittitas would not even recognize the name.

Yet, though nameless, many significant units of larger compass than 101 the village do exist. Dialectical groups have been noted, and cultural 571 groups mentioned in passing. The essential point is that the larger unit 619 is invariably ethnic or social, or linguistic in nature, never political. These social groupings are far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. Furthermore, within areas of common movement blood ties intertwine the population.

The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect is often especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is small, continuous, and the home of a common culture. The Kittitas forms one such group, the Klikitat another. Each is a single ethnic group, and each is coextensive with a particular Sahaptin dialect. The people themselves designate these units by the dialect

101 names. The names are not only denotative, but according to Jacobs,
571 carry also the emotional connotation, "our people." Exactly the same
619 reaction was given by a Carrier informant when I questioned him regarding social attitudes toward other Carrier at a considerable distance. "Why of course we would help them if they were in want or in trouble. They are our people; they speak our language!"

Furthermore, intermarriage is extremely common among members of friendly villages not far separated, though this is not made necessary by any system of exogamy. Walters feels that blood relationship is the principal factor leading to social unity among the various villages of the Southern Okanogan and observes that constant intermarriage and the practice of polygyny results in almost every man having relatives throughout the group.[12] This general condition holds true south to the Klamath.

Common utilization of hunting, berrying, and root digging grounds by members of several villages serves as a cementing bond, too. The particular grouping is determined by various social factors together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation is more or less forgotten and all mingle freely.

In consideration of these facts group names are not only reasonably justified but necessary as an indication of social grouping. Furthermore, it would be a hopeless task to describe cultural variants and distributions in terms of the atomistic units, nor would any purpose be served. We do no violence in giving names to units that are nameless from the native point of view; we fall into error only if we interpret these as political groups.[13]

### TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

177 As suggested above, the eastern border of the Plateau has been sub-
619 jected to strong Plains influence in the matter of political organization. True tribal organization has been effected, though the village has never been completely stripped of its political functions. Some degree of specialization has developed: the village retains control over local and peace-time affairs, while the tribe functions in larger matters, particularly in war. The situation is exemplified by the Nez Percé, of whom Spinden says:

> The tribe was divided into bands upon the geographical basis. Each village had its chief, its fishing place, and its strip of territory along the river. Several

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[12] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 84.

[13] Cf. Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 13-19; cf. Spier, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 5 f.

village groups often came together to make up a war-party, but there is little 177
evidence of close relationship in village groups in time of peace. 619

It would be more accurate to say that several villages were united to

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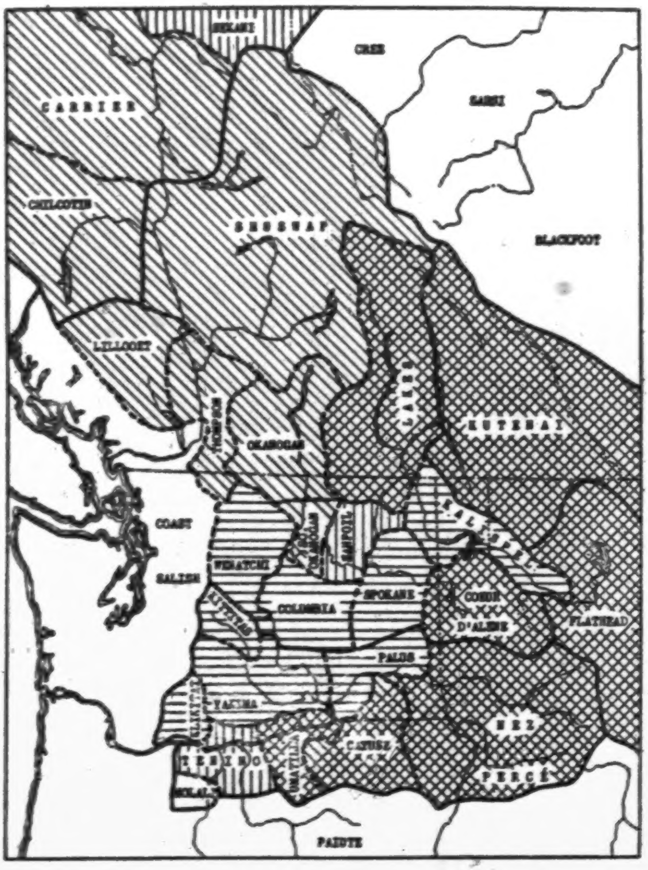
SEKANI
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CARRIER
SARSI
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAP
BLACKFOOT
LILLOOET
LAKES
KUTENAI
THOMPSON
OKANOGAN
COAST
SALISH
WENATCHI
OKANOGAN
SANPOIL
KALISPEL
SPOKANE
COLUMBIA
KITTITAS
COEUR D'ALENE
FLATHEAD
PALUS
YAKIMA
KLIKITAT
NEZ PERCE
CAYUSE
UMATILLA
TENINO
MOLALA
PAIUTE

Map 2. Types of political organization. *Vertical hatching:* strict local autonomy; *diagonal hatching:* small bands of villages; *horizontal hatching:* local autonomy with slight tribal tendency; *cross hatching:* tribal organization.

form the tribe, rather than that the tribe was divided. Indeed, mere common action in war is hardly a basis for postulating tribal unity, but 619
Spinden adds: 623

The council consisted of the chiefs and the old men. There was a village

619 council which helped the chief in administering justice, and a tribal council
623 which met to discuss intervillage matters and affairs of peace and war.[14]

101 Cayuse organization runs closely parallel to that of the Nez Percé,
619 while the Flathead go one step further in emphasizing a tribal chief. In no one of these groups is the proper tribal unit that to which the name is applied. Rather, each area so designated, as on the accompanying maps, includes several tribes of common culture. The Nez Percé, for example, is actually an ethnic grouping including several politically independent tribes, which in turn are made up of many villages enjoying considerable political power. The specific identities and territories of these tribes remain yet to be ascertained for all three groups mentioned. Despite impressions to the contrary, this can yet be done.

The Coeur d'Alêne differ in retaining greater power in the village, designating less to the tribe. Like the preceding, Coeur d'Alêne is an ethnic unit, in this case consisting of three tribal groups, one on upper Coeur d'Alêne and Hayden Lakes, a second on the Coeur d'Alêne River, and the third on the St. Joe River.

In contrast, the Umatilla villages form a single tribe. In fact, very nearly the entire population often gathers at a single village at the mouth of the Umatilla River, particularly in the winter. The Kutenai, too, form a single tribe though the villages are decentralized. However, the Kutenai Sun Dance is a tribal affair and brings the entire tribe together each summer.

Tribal organization among the Lakes seems to rest on a somewhat unique basis. A large dominant village, near the present site of Marcus, suggests a parallel with the Umatilla. But whereas Umatilla unity is obviously the result of Plains influence, other factors appear more im-
[177] portant with the Lakes. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupy a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travel in circuits, making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they are effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. A habitat of such a nature is obviously inimical to Plains culture; and in fact the Lakes have accepted almost nothing from that area. Thus the geographical proximity to the Plains should not be overemphasized, though it must not be disregarded.

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[14] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 242 f.

Tribal organization in the eastern Plateau is probably not of great 101
age. Several bits of evidence point to this conclusion. The persistent 177
political powers of the village and the similarity of the village organization 619
to that of autonomous villages to the west may be mentioned. Also, the tribal chiefs and councils are exact copies of those in the Plains, suggesting that sufficient time has not elapsed for adjustment and integration with local culture. Furthermore, the tribes with most typical Plains political structure are also those with the heaviest veneer of Plains culture in general, yet obviously quite superficial and recently borrowed. Plains culture hangs on the Umatilla like a brightly colored cloak hurriedly assumed and not yet adjusted. Therefore it is not surprising to find the adjacent Tenino quite innocent of such raiment, and of tribal structure. In the direction of the Sanpoil the adoption of Plains traits has proceeded more gradually and assimilation has been more complete. The Coeur d'Alêne show weak tribal organization; the Spokane and Columbia retain village autonomy but show a leaning toward tribal notions; the Sanpoil maintain complete village political independence. Other aspects of culture show a similar degree of Plains infiltration.

Natives themselves quite uniformly testify to the recency of tribal grouping, even among the Nez Percé. They also are quite aware of its source, and in like manner, the source of other elements of culture borrowed from the Plains. It seems quite certain that these influences did not antedate the acquisition of the horse. But contrary to common
assumption, they probably did not come with the horse, nor from the 177
same source as the horse. The Cayuse and Umatilla declare that they 231
obtained their horses from the south, among the Shoshoneans, not from 487
the east among Plains tribes. Haines, in a recent study, comes to the same conclusion. The route of travel, he says,

> was to the west of the continental divide, and followed the same route later used so much by the mountain men. It went from Santa Fé to the Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers. Along this path the Navaho Apaches, the Ute, and the Shoshone took horses to the Pacific Northwest. Thus the Shoshone of southern Idaho were the means of furnishing horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla [Walula], Yakima, Palouse, Nez Percé, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow, and many other tribes before horses were common among the Sioux and the northeastern Assiniboin. It is interesting to note that the horse thieves of later years usually stole from the tribes from whom they traditionally secured their first animals.[18]

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[18] Haines, *Northward Spread of Horses*, p. 436.

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487 This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.

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619 All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however, are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough, the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

### VILLAGE, BAND, AND TRIBE

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621 It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band" without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

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621 The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a different order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

The second sub-type is characteristic of the western Plateau of Canada (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, Okanogan, Southern Okanogan). Here the band is merely one unit of an expanded autonomous local group. Instead of the tiniest settlements maintaining strict independence, as among the Sanpoil, a small number within a relatively small range join together in a mutually advantageous union. In this case the group is looked upon in the same light as a large village. It is essentially a union of domestic and peacetime order. Chieftanship is central; if a member village needs a measure of strictly local control, the officer is a head-man, not a chief. The group is not looked upon as a union, but as a unit. Even among the Sanpoil the germs of this organization can be seen. Although a village of but two or three houses is theoretically strictly independent, with its own chief and group name, there is some modification of this in practice. Such a settlement sometimes sends representatives to the assembly of the nearest large town and solicits advice from the chief of that town. In such a case the small group does not recognize a chief, but names a head-man. Under this arrangement, however, the actions of the large village are never binding upon the other. Decisions which are thought wise are respected, others ignored. 621

The Southern Okanogan illustrates well the expanded autonomous local group. Four independent bands are recognized, each with its chief and small local territory. A man moves freely from one village to another within the band. Sharp distinctions are made between one band and another, especially where dialectical differences exist. This is true even within limited areas along the Okanogan River. These distinctions are purely political, however, not social or ethnic.[16] This type of band organization is surely a local development upon an earlier pattern now retained only by the peripheral Tenino, Sekani, and the internally peripheral Sanpoil.

### LINES OF DEMARCATION AND TERRITORIAL RIGHTS

The exactitude with which boundaries are drawn varies greatly, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Where the village is the political unit boundaries are automatically exact so far as the settlements themselves are concerned, but intervening and tributary territory must be divided arbitrarily, or be used in common. In the typical organization of the Plateau, territorial segmentation is highly 131 621

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[16] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 73 ff.

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specific along river courses, but hunting territory is invariably used in common by a number of villages or small bands. An area may be frequented more or less exclusively by a larger band but this is a matter of convenience rather than principle and does not particularly affect the specificity of boundaries.

The trans-river boundaries are quite precise in all cases. This is more or less inevitable since villages are small and situated close together. The actual line of division is seldom geographically intermediate, but is determined with regard to fishing grounds. Each village is associated with one or more of these grounds, depending upon the size of the village and the productivity of available fishing sites. Permanent villages are located with regard to topography, fuel supply, and winter warmth; therefore fishing sites may or may not be near by. Hunting and gathering grounds, on the other hand, cannot be so neatly parcelled out. It would be naturally impossible for each of many small villages to have a specific hunting territory and yet, whether partially cause or only effect, the political attitudes toward fishing territorial rights and hunting territorial rights differ essentially one from the other, as shown by actual organization.

It must be emphasized at this point that these distinctions and differences are largely formal and structural, not economically functional. A boundary is a conceptual thing, not a physical barrier. Although a particular fishing station "belongs" to a particular village, any friendly person, either acquaintance or stranger, is welcome to use it. But the village with territorial rights over the station is quite definitely the visitor's host. In the use of hunting territory no such host is recognized if the man is a member of the ethnic group; he is simply exercising his right.

These remarks apply to all of the Plateau groups recognizing local autonomy except the Athabascans on the north, particularly the Chilcotin and Sekani. Among these peoples mobile bands replace fixed villages and a considerable territory is required by each. In consequence hunting territory comes to be of primary importance and it is not surprising that each band recognizes specific territorial rights in this respect. Jenness states unequivocally that each of the Sekani bands possesses its own hunting territory.[17] Among the Carrier, large villages often hold specific territory. The mere recognition of such territorial rights is

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[17] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 44.

not antagonistic to Plateau principles, but the exclusiveness with which 131
territory is held is highly atypical. Athabascan groups not only claim 621
nominal title, but are willing to fight to protect their holdings against infringement.

Among Plateau groups recognizing tribal organization there is a 131
tendency toward this rigidness of restriction. The Kutenai and Coeur 609
d'Alêne refuse foreigners the use of their territory, but it must be 619
remembered that all constituent villages have common rights. The 621
Kalispel show only a tendency toward tribal organization, but they require that a visitor from the outside obtain the permission of a chief before hunting within their boundaries. The Yakima carry this notion even further. They insist that such permission be obtained and definitely limit the period of the permit. When the time is elapsed they provide safe convoy for the visitor as far as the Yakima boundary; beyond that point he is upon his own responsibility. Of interest here is the further Yakima practice of stationing scouts at strategic points along the boundary, in the interests of the group as a whole. Thus the lines of demarcation are highly specific here even though the circumscribed area encloses autonomous villages rather than a tribally united people. The adjacent Umatilla and Cayuse tribes treat the Yakima with similar formal hospitality, but give no quarter to their traditional enemies on the south, the Shoshoneans. These southern Plateau groups, together with the Nez Percé and Flathead, maintain tribal or ethnic boundaries on all sides that are quite as specific as the village boundaries on the rivers farther north.[18] The Klamath fall with the central and northern groups, as reflected in Spier's statement,

> The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggregations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.[19]

Under these conditions it is obvious that the precision with which a boundary line may be indicated is not a function of similar factors in all cases, but may reflect political distinctions either functional or formal, ethnic unity, concordance, or merely geographical conditions.

### CHIEFTAINSHIP

In discussing the bases of political organization it has been necessary 622
to refer frequently to the nature of chieftainship. Certain other data will be added here and basic patterns examined.

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[18] Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 17 ff.

[19] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 11.

622 The office is received either through inheritance or by selection on the basis of achievement everywhere in the Plateau. The principle of heredity may be rigidly applied or may be scarcely more than a nominal pattern modifiable at will. Selection, on the basis of achievement, may

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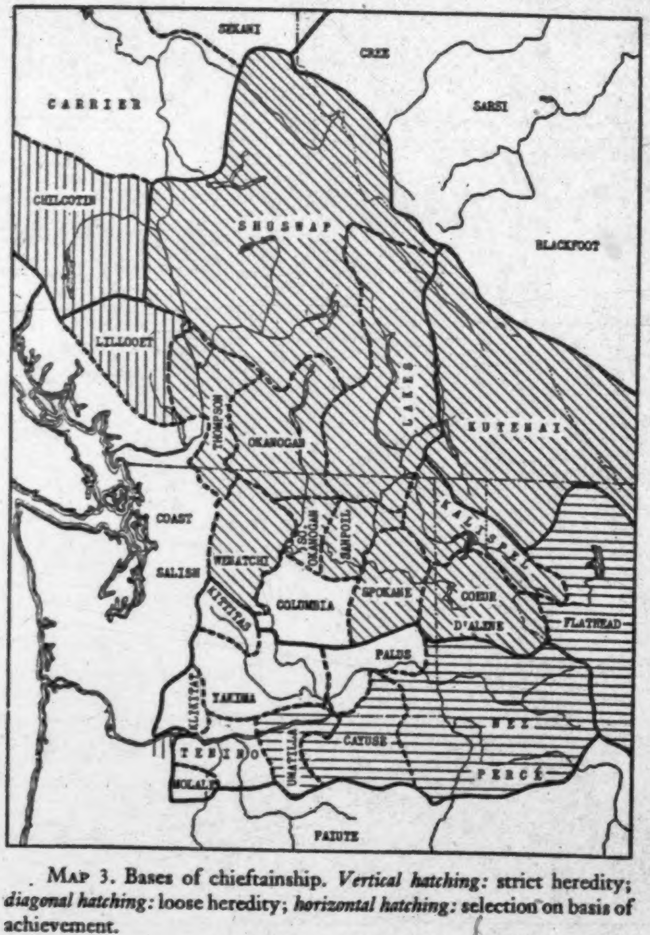
SEKANI
CREE
CARRIER
SARSI
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAP
BLACKFOOT
LILLOOET
LAKES
KUTENAI
THOMPSON
OKANOGAN
COAST
SALISH
WENATCHI
SO. OKANOGAN
SANPOIL
KALISPEL
KITTITAS
COLUMBIA
SPOKANE
COEUR D'ALENE
FLATHEAD
PALUS
KLIKITAT
YAKIMA
NEZ PERCÉ
CAYUSE
UMATILLA
TENINO
MOLALE
PAIUTE

Map 3. Bases of chieftainship. *Vertical hatching:* strict heredity; *diagonal hatching:* loose heredity; *horizontal hatching:* selection on basis of achievement.

622 be according to very formal rules or merely by consensus of opinion. The variations found, however, are not random nor lacking in order. Three patterns emerge with considerable contrast. The first is strict inheritance; this is found only among the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Wish-

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ram. The second, and most widespread, may be termed loose heredity. The factor modifying the heredity principle is invariably achievement or ability. All of the Plateau Salish, except the Columbia and Flathead, together with the Kutenai, are included in this group. The third type is selection according to more or less arbitrary principles of achievement, with particular emphasis upon war records. The Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla comprise this group. A fourth type might be suggested, with the position acquired through prestige and ability, but without formal selection. Sekani chieftainship is of this type, but it is uncertain whether the Carrier belong here or not.

Nowhere in the Plateau is chieftainship based upon wealth, as on the coast of northern California, nor directly correlated with wealth, as on the Northwest Coast generally. The Klamath are a partial exception since they apply the same term to rich man and chief, and in that all chiefs are rich men. But fundamentally the Klamath link with the southeastern Plateau. Spier explains: [556]

> A chief is one who has acquired his position in war, with some background of spirit experiences, wealth, ability to talk, and a suggestion of hereditary interest; this beyond natural ability for leadership.[20]

The strict inheritance of chieftainship among the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Wishram is quite obviously a reflection of coastal heredity minus any great emphasis upon wealth. Geographical considerations suggest this, but it is further apparent in the associated emphasis upon lineages (Chilcotin, Lillooet) and correlation with rank (Wishram). A Wishram modification provides for selection from among a number of eligible candidates:

> Several men were simultaneously chiefs. . . . Chieftainship was hereditary; on the death of a chief his place was taken by a son, a brother, a grandson, or some other close relative. . . . A man of parts, well versed in the arts of his people, of accommodating disposition, well provided with property in the form of horses, slaves, canoes, and other valuables, is chosen.[21]

Thus the Wishram form something of a link between strict adherence to heredity and loose heredity. The principal reason for placing them in the former category is that no provision is made for breaking the hereditary line if no satisfactory individual is eligible. Throughout the area of loose heredity this can be done. Among the Sanpoil, for

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[20] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 37, 308–10.

[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211.

622 example, the normal order of hereditary succession is son, brother, brother's son, but no priority is held by one son over another, by one brother over another, etc. Thus the office cannot be filled automatically. In case of vacancy the assembly selects one of those eligible by standards of honesty, sound judgement, even temperament, and, most important of all, skill in arbitration. If no one of the candidates satisfies these requirements, the assembly may choose any man it wishes; often the sub-chief is given the office.[22]

Among the Southern Okanogan the principle is identical, but actual history indicates

> discrepancy between theory and practice. In theory, the people choose the chief and he holds office as long as he retains their approval. Any individual might be chosen, parentage supposedly not determining the selection. In practice, chieftainship is hereditary, and there is no known instance of a chief ever having been deposed from office.[23]

(The Sanpoil office is held throughout life both nominally and actually, except in the event of abdication.)

Teit states that the Thompson lack hereditary chiefs, but explains that

> the fact that a man was the son of a chief gained him a certain amount of popularity. If, however, he failed to possess or attain the necessary qualifications [wealth, wisdom, oratorical powers, prowess in war], he was not called "chief," nor would he be considered in any way different from the mass of the people. Nevertheless chieftaincy has descended in some instances, particularly among the Lower Thompsons, from father to son for several generations.[24]

In other words, the Thompson phrasing differs somewhat from that of their southern neighbors, but the pattern remains essentially the same.

In the southern Plateau a partial parallel is seen among the Nez Percé. Spinden categorically asserts that

> the position of chief was obtained by election. Although fathers were often succeeded by their sons, this was only because the latter had a strong following and not because the chieftainship was regarded as hereditary.[25]

Spinden does not emphasize the formal standards which play so great a role among the Nez Percé and other southeastern tribes. These distinctly set off the southeastern Plateau.

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[22] Cf. Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 110.
[23] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 97.
[24] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 242.
[25] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 242.

But the parallels with the [illegible]ust not be under-emphasized. 177
An underlying Plateau unity is very probably present, despite the impressive differences upon which the classification above is postulated. 622
The formal standards mentioned are largely concerned with war activity and the evaluation is in terms of typical Plains coups. The obviously borrowed nature of this complex and the persistence of a tendency to heredity suggests that at an earlier time the southern and northern areas were one in recognizing a loose heredity with definite selection in the hands of the people.

It is highly improbable that the hereditary component of this complex was borrowed from coastal cultures of recent form. Spier has properly emphasized the direct correlation between wealth and rank, and chiefly heredity, on the Coast. Heredity in chieftainship was probably an outgrowth from the wealth-rank complex in its emphasis upon inheritance. In the Plateau wealth and rank are virtually absent. Further, chiefly heredity gives the appearance of respectable antiquity there. In view of these considerations the reasonable conclusion is that the principles of heredity are independent in the two areas. Or, very possibly, the principle as phrased in the Plateau may at an earlier time have characterized both that area and the Coast.

The Sekani fall quite outside these patterns.

> Each band had a leader, who was neither hereditary nor elected, but acquired his position through force of character, skill in hunting, and sane judgement. His authority, therefore, was merely nominal; he was a leader, not a chief; and if he presumed to issue orders, he had no means of enforcing them. When the hunters discussed their affairs over the evening fires and laid their plans for the morrow, the voice of the leader carried more weight, but no more actual authority, than that of the youth who had just entered the ranks of manhood. At any time a new leader might arise and supersede him.[28]

It was noted above that riches and political power are but very 554
slightly correlated in the Plateau. The chief is everywhere, except 622
among the Klamath, known by a distinctive term of address which designates him as a political official. Naturally this term is not applied to his family, nor are they set apart from the rest of the community by virtue of the man's office. Even among the Lillooet this is true, although the chief holds his office by reason of being born to the chiefly lineage. Distinctive insignia are assumed by chiefs of the Umatilla,

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[28] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 44.

554 622 Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Shuswap, Kalispel, and Lillooet. The practice is lacking for the Kutenai, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Thompson, and Carrier. Information is absent for the remainder of the area. The badge seems to be more a concession to vanity than a mark of authority.

622 692 The powers of a chief vary greatly from tribe to tribe. In the south central Plateau the chief is a leader, counselor, and judge. He directs the movements of his people, attempts to guide their actions in a manner thought wise, concerns himself with the general welfare, arbitrates disputes, and renders the final verdict in all criminal cases which reach him. His greatest power lies in his function as judge. Also, he presides over the council or assembly; here he can strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning but has no dictatorial power. Near the time of first white contact with the Southern Okanogan, Alexander Ross observed that

> the government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. . . . It is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur.[27]

The Wishram chief, on the other hand, wields considerable actual power. Spier emphasizes this point, explaining that the chief's word is implicitly obeyed. His position as judge is similar to that of northeastern neighbors but his verdicts are even more binding.[28]

Southward among the Klamath different conditions prevail.

> The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down.[29]

An almost exact parallel to these formal addresses is found among the Southern Okanogan, except that the chief's spokesman is the functionary rather than the chief himself.[30] The Sanpoil spokesman observes a similar, though less formal practice. The relationship with the Plains spokesman is patent. The assumption of this role by the Klamath chief is understandable since the latter is not served by a spokesman.

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[27] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292; cf. Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 111; cf. Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 94 f.

[28] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 212 f.

[29] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 39.

[30] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 94.

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War leadership, the other important aspect of Klamath chieftainship, likewise shows Plains linkage although the relationship is probably quite indirect or largely categorical. In the southeastern Plateau, however, the war function is at least equally emphasized, in this case more directly reflecting Plains influence. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé, and Flathead, certain chiefs are recognized exclusively as war leaders and these hold their positions whether war is actually in progress or not. The whole relationship between war chiefs and peace-time or political chiefs is very much confused. However, in at least some instances the political chief leads the war party, either individually or in company with the war chief. Of major importance is the insistence of informants that the war chief is not just any accomplished warrior, but a definitely recognized individual with a publicly approved record of coups. It is highly probable that the war chief is also political head of the tribe, but that the chief of a village is a political officer without war functions.

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Among the Canadian Plateau Salish and the Chilcotin, war leadership and chieftainship are quite divorced. The war leader is merely an accomplished warrior selected for the occasion. If the political chief should qualify he is quite eligible to the position, but this is rather seldom the case. The political chief wields greater power here than to the south. His word carries great weight in council and the average person seldom questions an edict of the chief. On the other hand, the chief does not often act on important matters without consulting the council.

The Carrier chief enjoys power superior even to this. Those who oppose him may be threatened with slavery, though such a threat is seldom carried out.

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The chief's spokesman, mentioned above, is characteristic of the south and central Plateau, save the Klamath.[21] In Canada the Lillooet have this officer, but in other groups he is lacking. The Lillooet speaker may be a direct borrowing from the Coast, rather than from the American Plateau. Among the Kutenai and Flathead the herald takes the place of the spokesman, as might be anticipated adjacent to the Plains. The spokesman and herald should not be contrasted too greatly; their functions definitely overlap. Both carry the words of the chief to the people, but sometimes in quite different fashion. The spokesman is essentially a repeater; he stands beside the chief and relays the words

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[21] Spier, *loc. cit.*, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 312 f.

203 622 624 of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[32] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

562 622 Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[33]

[177] The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[34] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

## SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

### Class and Rank

183 554 555 829 Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

554 555 567 829 The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

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[32] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.

[33] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.

[34] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter 183
is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult 554
citizen—man or woman—is a member of the general assembly of 555
his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new 567
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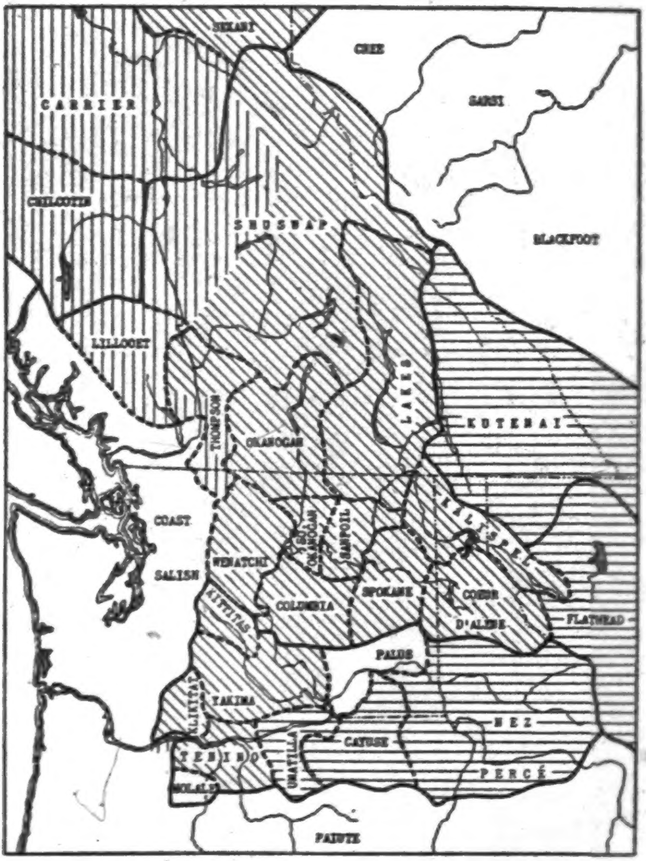
[554]
lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to
any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially;
he is as approachable as any man in the group. Nor does wealth carry [556]
any suggestion of advance in status. Indeed, wealth is rare. Only sha-


SEKANI
CREE
SARSI
CARRIER
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAP
BLACKFOOT
LILLOOET
LAKES
THOMPSON
OKANOGAN
KUTENAI
COAST
SALISH
SO. OKANOGAN
SANPOIL
KALISPEL
WENATCHI
KITTITAS
COLUMBIA
SPOKANE
COEUR
D'ALENE
FLATHEAD
PALUS
KLIKITAT
YAKIMA
NEZ
PERCÉ
CAYUSE
UMATILLA
TENINO
MOLALA
PAIUTE

Map 4. Class and rank. *Vertical hatching:* modified coastal pattern; *diagonal hatching:* no stratification; *horizontal hatching:* ranking according to war honors.

183 mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they
554 possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their
555 riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the
556 belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one
829 man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living.
[476] Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[35]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[36] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man.
177 Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[37]

183 The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this
554 strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as
[567] the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

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[35] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25 f.

[36] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.

[37] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 87, 98.

influence is observable, while on the east the Plains pattern of rank 177
according to prowess in war has made a distinct impression. 183

Quite typical coastal class distinctions are present among the Lower 554
Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia River. The Wishram of the Dalles serve as intermediaries between the Lower Chinook and the Plateau in trading activities. It is not surprising, therefore, that they recognize certain vague social distinctions.

> Three classes were recognized in addition to slaves, who stood outside the 554
> social structure. While these represented gradations of wealth, they were not 565
> primarily such since chiefs were not always among the wealthiest persons, and they in turn were not always chiefs. . . . A lowest class individual was specified as poor, owning no slaves and little of anything else.[38]

To the south, among the Klamath, social stratification is but weakly developed. In contrast to the Wishram, however, chiefs are invariably wealthy. Beyond these there is little difference in wealth from richest to poorest, a condition quite characteristic of the Plateau. Social position is not a matter of heredity.[39]

On the western edge of the Canadian Plateau, there is a certain awareness of class distinctions based upon descent. Among the Lillooet the descendents of chiefs "formed an aristocracy but had no privileges of any kind." But further there exists "a nobility of merit" in which membership is acquired through wealth, wisdom, oratory, and liberality. Men constituting this group are called "chiefs" as well as those belonging to the "nobility of rank." "The hereditary chiefs were looked upon as the real chiefs of communities, even although other men called chiefs might have greater influence and power."[40] This recognition of a loose hereditary nobility is found among the western Lillooet only; it has never reached the easternmost villages, or at least it is denied
today. Furthermore, the "chiefs" of this aristocracy are sept chiefs, 177
not political chiefs as such. Teit assumes that the first Lillooet septs 554
were simple village groups. There is reason to believe that the political 565
chiefs of these groups were quite strictly hereditary, as they are among 621
the eastern Lillooet today. This would have provided a fertile base for the growth of sept distinctions under coastal influence. Thus the radical difference between western Lillooet organization and typical Plateau structure appears to be the result of very recent and rather

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[38] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211. [39] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 307.
[40] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, pp. 254 f.

177 simple reinterpretations. The recency is attested not only by the limited
554 distribution but also by the existence of the "nobility of merit," an
565 anomaly in a class society. This is obviously a concession to persisting
621 Plateau social standards. Teit observes that

> it is quite evident that this clan organization must have a common origin with that of the Coast Salish. . . . We may safely conclude that the clan system was introduced through intercourse with the coast tribes, who, in their turn, seem to have adopted it from their northern neighbors.[41]

This would also be true, by implication, of class distinctions.

Similar conditions exist among the Shuswap. The western groups have recently adopted sept and class organization, while the eastern bulk of the tribe has retained typical Plateau social culture. In this case the period of adoption is very recent and quite definite.

> The organization of the [Fraser] Canyon division, and all of the bands of the Fraser River division north of Dog Creek, was based upon the system obtaining among the Carrier and Chilcotin. By 1850 the Lake division had also adopted this system in nearly all its details, and the Dog Creek band was very much influenced by it. At the same date the Pavilion band had adopted several features of a similar system prevailing among the Lillooet, and the High Bar band was beginning to be influenced by it also. The Indians state explicitly that these customs were introduced through the Canyon division, who had obtained them from the Chilcotin, and through the Soda Creek band, who had adopted them from the Carrier; and in these bands the system had its firmest hold.
>
> The people of these bands were divided into three classes—noblemen, common people, and slaves. The first class were called "chiefs," "chiefs' offspring," or "chiefs' descendents," and constituted in various bands from nearly one-half to over two-thirds of the whole population. In most bands there were few slaves; some of them the property of the nobility, and some that of the common people. The nobles had special privileges, and generally married within their class. Nobility was hereditary, and seems to have descended in both the male and the female line. Women of this class appear to have been on an equality with men, and had in all respects the same rights and privileges. Hereditary chiefs of the bands always belonged to the nobility, but it seems that they tended to become rather chiefs of clans than of bands.[42]

This reconstruction exemplifies well the history and conditions of adoption of coastal class and sept concepts, not only by the Shuswap,

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[41] *Idem*, p. 254.

[42] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 575 f.

but by the Chilcotin and Carrier as well. The borrowing is in all cases 177
very recent, but somewhat earlier among the Athabascans than the 554
Shuswap. It was in all cases superficial. Deep-seated Plateau standards 565
have been maintained in one way or another. The "nobility" may include 621
two-thirds of the population; a parallel "aristocracy of merit" may permit all men to be in effect upperclassmen; all may hold slaves; slaves are few; women maintain their equality; "special privileges" are said to exist but are hard to find.

It appears unnecessary to go over this same ground for the Chilcotin and Carrier. At least some of the latter never adopted sept organization. But all appear to entertain notions of class, somewhat more fundamental than among the Salish. Morice has indicated the recency of these concepts among the Carrier, while Goldman has ascertained that comparable organization among the Chilcotin is of quite recent adoption.[43] For the Sekani, Jenness provides specific dates:

> When the Sekani were confined to the western side of the Rockies through the hostility of the Beaver and the Cree they impinged continuously against the Gitksan and Carrier Indians, who were organized in the complex manner so characteristic of the Pacific coast. The Sekani not only fought, traded, and intermarried with them, but assimilated many of their customs and tried to adopt their divisions into exogamous matrilinear phratries. . . . The Sekani of McLeod lake . . . quickly abandoned the attempt. . . . The Finlay River Sekani, on the other hand, seem to have been intriguing with the phratric system for nearly a century. . . . They first attempted to establish phratries about 1850.[44]

In contrast to their southern neighbors, however, the adoption of phratries by the Sekani did not involve the adoption of class stratification. Any such concept remains quite foreign to them.

Very different notions of social status are found on the eastern 177
border of the Plateau. From the Kutenai to the Nez Percé a man's war 554
record fixes his social ranking. This record is based upon arbitrary
acts, or coups, in typical Plains fashion. Each coup is objectively indi- 555
cated by a notch on a stick, a mark on a man's white horse, or in some similar fashion. These are displayed as obviously as possible so that all may be made aware and kept aware of one's standing. Furthermore, formal recitation of coups is a common practice upon social occasions. The most significant aspect of this ranking is its relation to chieftain-

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[43] Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 201 ff.; Irving Goldman, oral information.

[44] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 46 f.

555 ship. Among the Umatilla, for example, one's coup record is all-important in achieving chiefly status. Aside from this, coup ranking appears more honorific than functional. The Flathead in earlier days permitted distinguished warriors to join the council in ceremonial smoking as a mark of honor, but did not assign permanent membership on this basis.[45] This probably typifies a more widespread attitude.

183 554 829 Altogether it appears that emphasis upon equality, as exemplified by the Sanpoil, is a fundamental Plateau trait of long standing. It was not adopted as a defense against outside notions but existed as a basic cultural pattern when foreign ideas of class and rank first impinged upon the area. Superficial adoption of these ideas came at a late date and only along the borders. The most central and isolated groups maintain the older attitudes quite unimpaired.

### SLAVERY

567 829 Certain attitudes and facts regarding slavery have been discussed above. The Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan lack slaves entirely and are outspoken in condemning the practice. Slaves are likewise absent among the Columbia and Lakes, and very nearly so among the Kalispel. This central region is encircled by a wide area in which slavery is present but of slight importance as an institution, and the numbers held are small. Only in the extreme northwestern Plateau (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet ?, Thompson) and among the Wishram and Klamath are slaves fairly numerous. The western position of these tribes makes it obvious that they are participating in coastal culture in this respect.

The Kalispel today deny that they have ever held slaves, but Teit states of the Coeur d'Alêne that several cases are remembered where local women were enslaved by the Kalispel and Flathead, but that in nearly all cases they were eventually returned home. The Spokane held no slaves in recent generations but may have had a certain number in earlier times. The Flathead, too, gave up slavery before it was outlawed by the whites.

> Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. . . . In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead did not trade in slaves.[46]

567 Okanogan slaves are mainly young women made captive in war though

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[45] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 52.

[46] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 158, 380.

a few are procured in trade. They are well treated and their children are seldom reminded of their parentage. 567

Slaves are somewhat more common among the Coeur d'Alêne. Teit records that some are purchased from other tribes but my infor-

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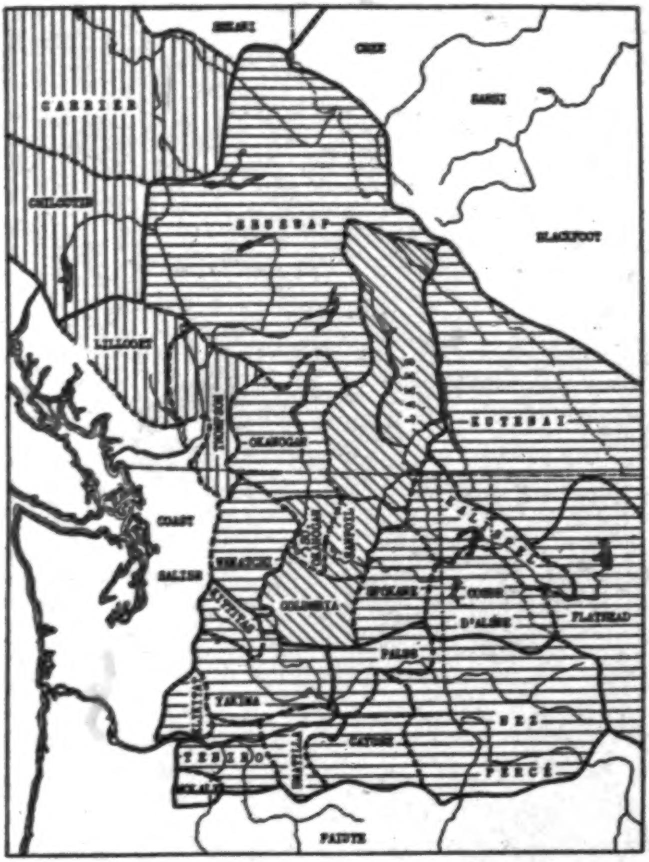
SEKANI
CREE
SARSI
CARRIER
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAP
BLACKFOOT
LILLOOET
THOMPSON
LAKES
KUTENAI
OKANOGAN
COAST
SALISH
KALISPEL
WENATCHI
OKANOGAN
SANPOIL
SPOKANE
COEUR
D'ALÊNE
FLATHEAD
COLUMBIA
KITTITAS
PALUS
KLIKITAT
YAKIMA
NEZ
PERCÉ
CAYUSE
TENINO
UMATILLA
MOLALA
PAIUTE

Map 5. Slavery. *Vertical hatching:* slaves numerous; *horizontal hatching:* slaves scarce; *diagonal hatching:* slavery absent.

mants denied this. However, if any are of Paiute origin, as Teit suggests, they are certainly purchased. Here, too, 567

slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been

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> known to show as much grief and weep as much over him as if he had been one of his own children. When a slave woman bore children to her master she became the same as a free member of the tribe.[47]

Slavery is but weakly developed among the Kutenai; all slaves are captives of war. They are not cruelly treated.[48]

Trading in slaves is practiced to a limited degree by the Thompson, but like their southern neighbors, most of the slaves held are captives.

> When a captive woman bore children to her master, she was considered one of the tribe, and neither she nor her children were ever afterward called slaves, at least openly. Some captive children were treated well, and were even adopted into the family of their master, but other slaves were often treated cruelly.[49]

The Lower Thompson treat their slaves with even less consideration, and family adoption is unknown. Indeed, the children of slaves occupy like status; thev are not free.

This new note of ill-treatment is characteristic of the Shuswap also. Here a slave is sometimes killed upon the death of his master, and buried with the latter. Trading in slaves is practiced to a moderate degree.[50] The lot of the slave is an unfortunate one among the Carrier, as well.

To the south, among the Wishram, somewhat similar conditions prevail. Although ordinarily well treated, the recalcitrant slave is dealt with severely; a runaway's feet are burned with a torch. A chief's personal slaves, at least, are killed upon the death of their master. A certain number of slaves are taken in war, but the majority are purchased, often to be resold. Trading in slaves is an important activity here at the great Dalles commercial center.[51]

In nearby Oregon the Tenino take quite a different attitude toward slavery. The institution is disapproved but tolerated. In late years the Klamath encouraged them to act as intermediaries in the slave trade between them and the Wishram.

The Klamath perhaps subject their slaves to less human treatment than any other Plateau tribe.

> Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy.

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[47] *Idem*, p. 158.

[48] Chamberlain, *Kootenay Indians*, p. 185.

[49] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 290.

[50] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 536, 592.

[51] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 221–24.

It is probable that those more kindly treated lived much the same life 567
as any poor Klamath. Apparently they are not killed at funerals. Raids [72]
for the specific purpose of taking slaves are more prominent than among any other Plateau tribe, excepting perhaps the Carrier. Many of those taken are resold among the Tenino or at the Dalles. Considerable numbers are involved, both in local holdings and in trade.[52]

Almost all slaves either held or traded by Plateau peoples are of 177
non-Plateau nativity, except in the extreme north. Teit makes the 567
categorical assertion that "There were no interior Salish or Sahaptin people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at the Dalles or elsewhere."[53] In other statements, however, he modifies this; in the holdings of the Coeur d'Alêne "a very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest but they were generally bought back. . . . There are several cases of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead]."[54] My own informants, Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, Kalispel, and Flathead alike, failed to corroborate these assertions. Of the Shuswap, Teit writes, "numerous slaves taken in war from the Lillooet were sold back to their friends."[55] The Lillooet, of course, are not wholly interior, geographically.

> The Shuswap and Upper Thompsons seldom captured slaves from each other; but when this did happen, they were taken back by force of arms, purchased by their friends, or, after some years, allowed to escape. Formerly there were many Lillooet slaves among the upper divisions of the [Thompson] tribe.[56]

Teit provides information suggesting that interior Salish are not uncommonly taken as slaves by the Sekani and Cree.[57]

In general, then, slaves held within the Plateau are extra-areal in origin; this is more consistently true in the south than in the north. Southern slaves are dominantly of Shoshonean affiliation; a secondary source is the Coast, especially the coast of Oregon. Most slaves from the Coast reach the Plateau via the Dalles market. The Klamath obtain the bulk of their slaves from northern California, particularly the Pit River area. As a consequence of trade many of these reach the Dalles

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[52] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 27, 39–41.

[53] Teit, *Middle Columbia Salish*, p. 122.

[54] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 158.

[55] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 536.

[56] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 269.

[57] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 547, 551.

177 and become widely dispersed. In the north, most slaves come from the
567 Coast, especially the Lower Fraser region. Quite a number are of Athabascan origin. Third in importance as a source are the Lillooet. Slaves held by the Athabascans are of local as well as outside origin. The Carrier alone make slaves of their own orphans. The Kutenai occasionally obtain a slave or two from the Lakes. To what extent the Salish hold Kutenai slaves is unknown.

The outside origin of Plateau slaves is directly correlated with friendliness within the area. Throughout the central region relations are so thoroughly harmonious that the taking of slaves is unthinkable. In the north this is true to a lesser but considerable degree. It does not at all apply to the Athabascans, or Athabascan relations with the Salish. Since slaves must come from the outside, those areas most accessible and least capable of defense are raided.

Several factors suggest that slavery is recent in the Plateau and atypical to it; or, if not recent, of minimal significance until recently. The Carrier and Sekani are excepted, as participating in quite another tradition. First, the distribution is significant: slavery is unknown to the most central region, and but meagerly developed in the remainder of the area except among those western tribes in close contact with the Coast. These groups not only give greater emphasis to slavery, but treat their slaves in a manner typical of the Coast. Slavery among other Plateau peoples is hardly deserving of the name considering the mild and even kindly treatment the subjects receive. The Shuswap are somewhat more severe than their southern neighbors, though the institution itself is not of great significance to them. This is consonant with their exposure to the Thompson, Chilcotin, and especially the Carrier.

The Wishram and Klamath are the most impressive slaveholders of the area. Yet Spier judges Klamath slavery to be largely a development subsequent to the acquisition of the horse.

> It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.[58]

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[58] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 40.

It is interesting to note that the Tenino, close by the Dalles, say that 177
the Klamath encourage them to deal in slaves, whereas the Klamath 567
themselves appear to have borrowed the trait from the Dalles.

## WARFARE AND PACIFISM

General areal conditions of concordance and discordance are im- 181
plicit in the discussions of the preceding section, but specific practices 721
remain to be considered. Standing out boldly over all is the impressive emphasis upon pacifism which characterizes the central region. A very different picture is seen in the south, with intensive conflict as the theme. But the conflict is of the type associated with the Plains, from where it obviously was borrowed. Thus it is not typical of the Plateau. Among the interior Salish of Canada warfare is certainly not absent but no clear pattern emerges; the activities appear to be raids and feuds on a large scale.

### Pacifism

The Sanpoil, at the geographical center of the Plateau, emphasize no other value in life more than pacifism, unless it be the fundamental equality of all men. Warfare is virtually unknown to them, and has been unknown from time immemorial. No living man can recount an instance of conflict even from traditional history. Warfare is occasionally mentioned in folk tales and mythology, but the scene is always far distant and the Sanpoil are not involved. There is no question but that the first duty of a chief is to maintain peaceful relations with all other peoples. Upon the slightest threat of warfare the chief calls the assembly together and pleads with the people to maintain neutrality at any cost. The virtues of pacifism are extolled and a strong appeal is made that a long record of peacefulness be not marred. When the Spokane were at war with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend, the Sanpoil chief Kolaskin, to induce his people to join the conflict. Kolaskin was a man who thirsted for glory, but he and the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.[59]

The Southern Okanogan participate in this ideal of pacifism. Walters states that they "have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. . . . The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor."[60]

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[59] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25–27, 114 f. [60] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 79 f.

721 Teit declares that peace generally prevailed among all the Salishan tribes of the American Plateau prior to the coming of the horse. He heard of no wars even after that time by the Sanpoil, Colville, Southern Okanogan, Okanogan, or Lakes, against any other Salishan group of the American Plateau. Nor did the Flathead engage in war with other Salishan groups. But in another place Teit asserts that

> the Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead] and Kalispel had a few wars long ago. Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once the Kalispel helped the Spokane in a war with the latter. . . . There were no wars with the Colville or any tribes of the Okanogan group [Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Lakes].[61]

This does not deny the existence of raids and occasional small scale feuds. The Southern Okanogan, for example, "are much afraid of the Thompson because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Southern Okanogan surprise them in their attacks."[62] Raiding parties are groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who are bent on personal gain and whose actions are not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they come. Raids are usually made at night or when the able-bodied men of a village are absent. The Sanpoil suffer from the depredations of the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé.[63] Lakes villages are sometimes sacked by the Shuswap and Kutenai. Retaliatory raids are seldom made by the Southern Okanogan or Sanpoil, but the Lakes sometimes seek revenge.

622
628 According to Teit, feuds between families occur less often among the Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, and Lakes than among the Thompson. Chiefs attempt to bring about settlement of such conflicts by arbitration. The payment of blood money is often necessary.[64]

Serious quarrels sometimes develop over gambling disputes. A Lakes example is instructive, both as to the nature of such controversies and the efforts of chiefs to maintain peace:

> A large number of people had gathered at Marcus, in southern Lakes territory, for trading purposes. The group included Lakes, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Kutenai. During the progress of a gambling game a bitter dispute developed between a Lakes and a Spokane. The Lakes loaded his

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[61] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 257, 359 f.

[62] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 78.

[63] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25, 115.

[64] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 259.

622 628 gun while the Spokane boasted, "What do you intend to do with that gun? You know my body is made of iron and nothing can hurt me." "Yes, I know," the Lakes answered, but raised the weapon and fired, killing his adversary. A second Spokane rushed up and he too was killed. Now the Spokane drew knives and killed the Lakes gunman. The two sides retired for reënforcements and shortly thereafter faced each other again.

Now Gregory, the Lakes chief, stripped off his clothing and walked between the two opposing lines. The Spokane shouted for his death, saying that the score would thereby be evened. But Gregory spoke: "You say that nothing but my death will stop you from fighting." Turning to his own people he continued, "There is nothing to stop you from fighting except your own will power." Then to all, "When I lie dead, the sun will disappear behind the clouds; there will be no sun. Deep darkness will prevail. No one can know how long it will remain dark. There will be no children, no old crippled folk. I do not wish to frighten you. But if you drop your arms, the trail will be opened. The sun will slowly appear. The old blind people will have a night to sleep. Then the trail will be open. We shall have no more bloody days until the end of our time. You can kill me if you will, but if you drop your arms, there will be no more bleeding. We shall have an open trail." It is said that the antagonists dispersed.

In similar manner a Sanpoil chief dissuaded his people from attempting retaliation against a raiding party: "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good."

### NORTHERN WARFARE

721 Teit's description of Thompson warfare serves well as a type picture for the Canadian interior Salish.

> The Thompson Indians often engaged in war-expeditions. Up to 1858, and even later, regular tribal wars, in which one whole tribe was arrayed against another, were very rare. Most of their warfare was for the sake of plunder, adventure, or revenge. War parties numbered from five or six individuals to companies of several hundred. A man who refused to join in these war-expeditions lost the respect of his fellows. Though many of the chiefs favored peace rather than war, yet there was seldom much difficulty in obtaining men for these expeditions, many joining for the sake of the spoils, others merely from love of adventure or to obtain distinction. . . . The war-party was under the command of a war-chief. Young men of little experience were always kept in the middle of the party. The best men always led. A number of scouts were sent ahead, and watched the camp at night. Large parties employed four

> 721 scouts. The warriors communicated by signals, such as imitation of cries of birds or other animals, and by sign language. Notices were left for distant members of the party by means of sticks placed in peculiar positions, etc. The war-party took little food along. . . . Scalping or beheading was not much practiced by the Thompson Indians, although they occasionally resorted to both, and would bring home for display the head of some distinguished enemy slain, after which it was thrown into the river. Some warriors never took a scalp; others scalped every male enemy that they killed. They ornamented their weapons, and sometimes their clothes, with locks of hair from the enemy's scalp. . . . The tribes with which the Thompson Indians made war were those of the Fraser River delta, the Lillooet, and the Shuswap.[65]

This description must be modified for the Shuswap only in minor details. Like the Thompson, the Shuswap are never a unit in war activity; in fact, it is the restricted local group, not even the band, which is ordinarily represented. The Lower Thompson say that one village never thinks of helping another, even in defensive warfare.

Furthermore, the large majority of Shuswap are peaceful, not warlike. Only those of the Fraser River, and those immediately bordering the Lillooet and Thompson, are active in war. These, however, are even more warlike than the Thompson. The principal enemies of the Shuwsap are the Lillooet, Okanogan, and, of the upper divisions, the Sekani. Wars with the Chilcotin are common also, and occasionally with the Thompson. They are generally friendly with the Carrier and Kutenai, and sometimes allied with the former against the Chilcotin.[66]

727 The Shuswap and Lillooet seldom or never take scalps or heads.
756 Among both, the shaman occupies an important place in war activity.

> Every large or important war party had a shaman, who was considered equally as important as the chief. The latter was simply a leader, elected for his experience or bravery, and was versed only in the science of war, and unable to cope with the enemy except in a material way; while the shaman could cope with the enemy in a spiritual way through his shamanistic powers. It was his duty to control the elements, so as to help his party and inconvenience the enemy; to prophesy results; to propound methods of overcoming the enemy; to ward off spells or evil influences cast upon them by the enemy's shamans, and to throw spells on the enemy, so that they might become harmless or fall an easy prey.[67]

[65] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 267 f.

[66] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 540 ff.

[67] *Idem*, pp. 542 f.

The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon 177
virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, 721
but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices 756
apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish 624
is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the 721
expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained 725
group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common. 578

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[88]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs 628
to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

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[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

628 band or village toward which their venom is directed, not the Shuswap, for example, as a whole and indiscriminately.

The Carrier and Chilcotin participate somewhat in this pattern of warfare, but the Carrier, particularly, have been much influenced by the Coast—note the importance of the shaman discussed above—and also by the Shuswap with whom they are in fairly intimate contact and whose war parties they sometimes join.

### SOUTHERN WARFARE

177
721 Warfare in the southern Plateau and among the Kutenai has little in common with that of the northern region. All information available today pictures the typical Plains war complex among all of the combative tribes except the Klamath. Those tribes participating in the Plains tradition with little or no modification are the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla. The Plains pattern is wholly obvious but slightly modified among the Yakima, Klikitat, Columbia, and perhaps the Tenino.

721 There is reason to believe that these tribes were distinctly less warlike prior to the adoption of the Plains pattern. The Columbia, and perhaps even the Klikitat and Yakima, may have leaned toward the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism. But it is equally certain that the Walula, Cayuse, and Nez Percé engaged in martial conflict at a much earlier time, and thus possessed an antecedent pattern. This early warfare saw the Sahaptins arrayed against a common enemy, the Shoshoneans. Sahaptin informants declare that this antagonism, and consequent conflict, has existed from time immemorial. The Tenino and Umatilla have been allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Bannock and Paiute, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. This situation, with its well defined alliances and long-standing hostilities, made for a very different type of warfare from the raid-like activities in the north. It is true that marauding parties took advantage of these antagonisms to gain approval for their acts, but in the larger exploits ethnic pride and prestige were involved. Individual glory was sought at the same time, but this motive was secondary until Plains influence was felt. Even thereafter the exploits were directed against the traditional enemy; personal glory might not be achieved at the expense of traditional bonds of friendship. Engagements were on a relatively large scale; considerable preliminary preparation was involved. Long distance marches were made to meet the enemy. Open

field fighting was the rule. The leader and the party were representatives of Sahaptin people of the region, not merely aggregations acting in their own interest. No excuse for precipitating a battle was necessary other than the traditional enmity. On the other hand, informants declare that warfare of this kind, even on a small scale, has never existed between the Sahaptin and the Salish. A traditional friendship here parallels the traditional hostility further south. This is corroborated by Lewis and Clark, who observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity in 1805.[69] 721

Klamath war practices may well reflect certain early conditions further north, since they were never greatly influenced by the Plains. The probability of this is increased by the fact that their affiliation is definitely not to the south. Spier writes:

> Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits. 628 721

This last might well have been written of the Umatilla or Nez Percé. Spier continues, lending support to this correlation:

> There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east.
>
> Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the . . . people of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco at the Dalles. Warfare is directed in all other directions. . . . Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. . . . Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.[70]

Spier and Sapir's information on Wishram warfare indicates that

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[69] Cf. Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 391 ff.

[70] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 24–27.

628 it resembles that of the Klamath, with modifications reminiscent of
721 the Coast.[71]

### PLAINS-TYPE WARFARE

177 No other element borrowed from Plains culture is more conspicuous
721 in the Plateau than the Plains war complex. Yet information is exceedingly scanty, especially with reference to the conduct of the war party. About all that can be discussed here are the more objective features such as counting coup.

As noted above, the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla are the tribes which adopted Plains-type warfare to the fullest degree. It is beyond question that this adoption came subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. This statement should be taken literally; that is, the adoption was subsequent, not contemporary. It has been generally assumed that the horse carried the complex, as it were, done up on a pack on its back. The evidence today indicates that the horse came to the Plateau from the south, not the east (see above).

Indirect evidence pointing to recency of adoption of the war complex is plentiful, but need not be reviewed here.[72] The most conclusive evidence is the complete awareness by the natives of the borrowing, both as to time and source. Any Flathead, Umatilla or Kutenai man of advanced age can supply details, often heard directly from the lips of members of the two or three preceding generations who were consciously instrumental in the borrowing. Even today the Yakima obtain some of their regalia for war dances directly from Plains tribes.

Formal war honors are counted by the Umatilla, Kutenai, and Flathead, and probably by the Nez Percé. Spinden is silent on the subject in his description of the Nez Percé, but indirect evidence is supplied in a statement by Ross. In describing a Nez Percé war horse he says: "The horse was a pure white. After painting the animal's body all over, and drawing a variety of hieroglyphic devices, the head and neck were dappled with streaks of red and yellow."[73] It is probable that some of these marks recorded coups, inasmuch as the Umatilla record coups in exactly this manner. No other Plateau tribe than these recognize coups, with the improbable exception of the Yakima and Klikitat.

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[71] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 228–35.

[72] See Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 225, 235; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 359 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 227 ff.; Lewis, *Tribes of the Columbia Valley*, *passim*; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 61 f.

[73] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, p. 307.

In the Plains the coup is one of a number of graded war honors of a 177 highly arbitrary and formal sort. 721 Sometimes the term coup is applied to any war honor of the series; in more limited usage it is applied to the act of touching with the hand, or with an object held in the hand, some portion of the body of an enemy.[74] Other commonly recognized war honors include killing, scalping, and stealing a horse.

All of these, and others, are found in the Plateau. The Kutenai and Flathead grade war honors, the Umatilla do not. The same honor may be counted on a single enemy by two warriors in succession; the second is recognized by all tribes to be equal in value to the first. In addition, the Flathead alone admit four such honors in succession, but the second pair is of less value than the first. [608] This practice is associated with an institution of "war brothers;" the individuals paired in counting honors thereby establish this ceremonial friendship.[75] The following honors are recognized by the three Plateau tribes: coup upon living enemy, killing, taking enemy's bow, stealing enemy's horse. Scalping is practiced by the Umatilla and Flathead, not Kutenai. The latter substitutes cutting the enemy's hair. Coup may be counted upon the slain enemy by Kutenai and Flathead, not Umatilla. Untethering an enemy's horse receives honor among Umatilla and Flathead.

Only the Flathead use coup sticks for striking and for recording honors. The Umatilla make marks on blankets or horses. The Kutenai keep records but the method is uncertain.

The Plains practice of limiting honors to either two or four specifically defined acts is not seen in the Plateau. Regarding successive counting by various warriors, two and four as above, are Plains patterns, but neither is found near the Plateau. The adjacent Crow and Blackfoot recognize one only. The Crow set apart certain acts of unusual bravery as ungraded but superior to any on the scale.[76] The Kutenai do likewise, in this case with respect to one act, that of killing the enemy chief unaided.

Within the Plains itself the distribution of war honor details is irregular. This, and adjacent Plateau irregularity, are probably the result of the unusual mobility made possible by the horse, and consequent widespread travel and intercourse.

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[74] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 426–30.

[75] Cf. Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 65.

[76] Smith, *loc. cit.*

### DANCES ASSOCIATED WITH WAR

535 The term "war dance" has been so loosely used in the literature
726 that it is sometimes difficult even to determine whether a particular
787 ritual precedes or follows a battle. More subtle differences are even less frequently reflected in the accounts. However, several patterns may be tentatively isolated in the Plateau: (1) a dance seeking supernatural protection or prediction of success; (2) a dance of incitement; (3) a parade dance in solicitation of recruits; (4) a dance by the women during a war party's absence; (5) a processional dance by the returning war party after a victory; (6) a victory dance in the home camp.

The above is a conceptual classification, not an historical one. Relations of the latter nature will appear in the discussion.

The dance seeking supernatural aid or protection, or the supernatural prediction of success or failure, is spread from the Carrier to the Klamath along the western edge of the Plateau. It is described by Teit for the Thompson and western Shuswap:

> Before departing the [Shuswap] warriors held a war dance similar to that customary among the Thompson Indians. The war shaman sang alone, and danced in a circle, moving against the sun. He prayed in his song for success of the party, and that their enemies might become as women. When he had finished his shaman's song and incantations, the war chief, decorated in feathers and war-paint, joined him and struck up his war-song. Then all of the warriors followed and danced in a circle, moving in a direction against the course of the sun, singing, and dashing their spears to each side and praying that they might thus easily kill their enemies.

Besides such activities as these, various semi-magical means were used to determine specific details regarding the enterprise. A rather elaborate procedure was followed by the Shuswap:

> All the men put contributions of dried fish in a pile, some giving more, and others less. Then the shaman cut up all the fish, and distributed the pieces to the warriors, who sat in a circle, making the rounds in the direction opposite to the sun's course. Each warrior had to receive an equal number of pieces, without any being left over. If the shaman did not succeed in making an even division, he took the fish back, placed them in a heap, and covered them with a blanket. He retired to a spot a short distance away, danced, and sang, facing the pile, and using his shamanistic power to make the division come out even the next time. If he failed four times in this division of the war provisions, it was considered a bad omen, and the party did not start.[77]

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[77] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 611, see also p. 543; see Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356.

An identical account of prediction ritual was given to me by the 535
Fraser River Shuswap adjacent to the Carrier, but the latter tribe does 726
not share the practice, nor do any other Plateau tribes, as far as I could 787
ascertain. This procedure smacks strongly of the Coast and it is hardly to be doubted that this was its ideological source. But the more specific Coast practices of prediction by counting mistaken steps of dancers or examining the hands for blood are found only among the Carrier, where, it will be recalled, shamans are war leaders.

Lillooet dances for supernatural aid are very similar, but are held after the party has departed.[78]

Southward, among the Wishram, the same objectives are sought, but dreams play a prominent role:

> A war dance took place before dawn of the first night of the expedition, in which dreams prefiguring the conflict were related. "We dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die. I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang rubbing the [notched rasps] together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us toward the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream.' And the people yelled their war-whoop."[79]

And again, among the Klamath, a similar pattern is encountered. A 535
preparatory performance 721

> is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war 787
> dance, as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.[80]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé that,

> In the ancient War dance there were two lines of dancers and a leader. Time was kept by rubbing a round stick up and down over a notched stick sewed to a stiff piece of hide. The songs were individual, as were those of the Scalp dance and the Guardian Spirit dance, and apparently were very much

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[78] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 235.

[79] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 229 f.

[80] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 29 f.

535 721 787 like them. . . . It is evident that the warriors sang songs according to the nature of their guardian spirits.[31]

Among the Coeur d'Alêne the dance held before going to war originally seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the steps of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual.[32]

It is somewhat doubtful that the change was a gradual one; more probably it was a substitution, since quite different notions lie behind the two dances. The old form involved sweating, the solicitation of aid from guardian spirits, and a dance sequence which was essentially of a wishful type, the imitation of a successful encounter. The later form was the incitement dance, the second type above. The procedure is much more highly formalized, as Teit points out. But more important are these facts: it does not involve guardian spirits or magic; it is not a plea for success; it does not include war antics or simulation of battle; it is, as the name implies, a dance of incitement, a type of physically intense group activity in which emotional tone is built up to a feverish pitch.

This interpretation is supported by statements of the Nez Percé as reported by Spinden:

> 177 535 721 787 Little could be learned about the ancient War dance of the Nez Percés. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was abandoned and the War dance of the Crow Indians substituted. The warriors of the Nez Pérce tribe crawled up to the Crow camps under cover of darkness and learned the songs of their War dance. The first War dance obtained from the Crows was later replaced by another. In this later dance, syllables, not words, were used.[33]

This imported dance of incitement spread to the Umatilla, Yakima, Columbia, and perhaps even farther. Since its adoption it has undergone considerable modification, both through local specialization and continued borrowing of isolated elements from the Plains war complex,

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[31] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 264 f.

[32] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 187.

[33] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 264.

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particularly in the matters of regalia and drumming. It has thus come 535
definitely to be a Plateau ceremonial in organization and execution; it 721
does not closely parallel any specific Plains dance. 787

It has also become specialized in function. The dance persists strongly to this day; obviously it is no longer a "war dance" in function. Instead it has come to be a purely social dance, and still more formalized than earlier. Even with its new interpretation, however, it is not danced by the Sanpoil, Teit to the contrary.[84]

The third dance type, wherein volunteers for a war party are solicited, includes a processional as well as a dance. It is found only in the eastern and southeastern Plateau. Among the Coeur d'Alêne, when war was decided upon

> the chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. . . . If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him.[85]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé:

> A portion of the ancient War dance which was not discarded was the Farewell song of the warriors before every lodge on the night before going on the war-path. The men went from lodge to lodge and paused before each, singing a song and beating time on a buffalo-hide blanket. There were many different songs employed. The women followed behind and joined in the chorus.[86]

Spinden is almost certainly wrong in interpreting this dance as ancient, or as a farewell. In describing the Plains war complex, Smith states,

> A war dance was held in order to obtain the volunteers of whom the war party was composed. This dance was directly instigated by the prospective leader of the expedition. It might be simple in character, such as the offer and acceptance of a pipe or a march in which the volunteers took part, or the dance might be elaborate. In either case the enlistment of the warrior was sealed by his performance of the prescribed act.[87]

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[84] Teit, *loc. cit.*

[85] *Idem*, p. 188.

[86] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 265.

[87] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 449 f.

177 This dance for volunteers is shown to be widespread in the Plains
535 and well integrated in the complex. It undoubtedly reached the Plateau
721 at a late date. Spinden's interpretation is apparently the result of native
787 rephrasing in recent days. The dance is still held regularly by the Nez Percé.

In the fourth type of dance associated with war, that performed by the women during the absence of the war party, we suspect influence from the opposite direction, the Coast. Extensive restrictions govern the actions of women on the Coast, not only during warfare, but while men are engaged in hunting. In connection with war, the women's dance is common. In the Plateau it is found only among the Thompson and Okanogan, apparently the result of a diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

> [722] While the [Thompson] men were on the war-path, the women performed dances at frequent intervals. These dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. . . . If a woman had a husband in the war-party, and she thought she saw hair or part of a scalp on the weapon . . . she knew that her husband had killed an enemy. If she thought she saw blood on the weapon, it was a sign that her husband had been wounded or killed.[88]

Obviously the ideology here is the same as that of the men's dance for prediction and aid.

535 The processional dance of the returning victorious war party car-
727 ries us back to the Plains again for the type picture.

> There seems to have been no tribe of the Plains area, with the possible exception of the Arikara, in which the returning war party did not camp outside the village before making its entrance. In part, this was in order to prepare for the dances which followed; in part to make that entrance more impressive. But there can be no doubt that the return of a war party was a ceremonial affair which customarily involved the ushering of the successful warriors into the village by all or some part of those who had remained behind.[89]

When a Coeur d'Alêne war party was victorious the people

> went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on

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[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356; cf. Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 293.

[89] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 443.

their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, 535
where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. 727

Similarly, among the Flathead, a ceremonial procession is organized. The warriors sing while approaching and then charge the camp as if it were that of an enemy. They race around the camp circle, during which their camp mates, especially women, attempt to halt them. If stopped, the warrior must make a present to the one responsible. Turney-High attributes this forfeiture of gifts to the victory dance rather than the victory procession, saying:

> In the midst of all his war-honors the scalp-taker was not carefree. The 535
> Salish wealth complex obtruded itself into this ceremonial, as the scalp-taker 556
> was supposed to make a present to every woman joining in the dance, even 727
> of a valuable horse. Ordinarily the warriors were generous enough, since the distribution of gifts in the scalp dance enhanced their prestige.[90]

It is difficult to comment upon such an interpretation without becoming subjective. Not only is the practice of sacrificing gifts in this manner a direct affiliation with the Plains, but no such thing as a wealth complex, Salish or otherwise, exists among the Flathead or any other closely related Plateau group! The most nearly parallel practice is found among the Plains Cree. Speaking of the returning victorious war party, R. Jefferson says,

> They commence their ceremonious entrance into camp. The owners of 535
> scalps march in the middle front, bearing their trophies. The others act as a 727
> chorus, naming the successful warrior and singing the scalp songs. When the attention of the camp was attracted, all would rush toward them to hear the news. The custom was to rifle the tents of the near relatives of those who brought home scalps; probably with the idea that they were so transported with joy as not to notice the depredation. This was the next step, and all hastened to take what they could lay hands on, so that a returned warrior was often obliged to seek shelter and food in someone else's lodge.[91]

The Nez Percé probably share the victory procession but this is not certain; it is not practiced by the Umatilla.

The victory dance is the final ceremony of those linked with war. More commonly this ritual is called the scalp dance, but this name is inapplicable where scalps are not taken, or where heads or hair take the place of scalps.

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[90] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 189; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 63.

[91] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 535.

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A victory dance deserving of the name is found only in parts of the American Plateau, and among the Kutenai. Informal gatherings occur among the Shuswap and Carrier, and perhaps others, upon the return of a victorious war party, but these are scarcely more than spontaneous expressions of joy. It is interesting that the Shuswap treat the scalp as a guardian spirit and the so-called scalp dance is a simple religious ritual. "It seems that in the scalp dance the dead warrior was addressed in nearly the same manner as a killed bear is" in the bear ceremony, Teit observes.

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In the American Plateau two historic levels can be seen in the victory ceremony. One level is quite late in time and the ceremony is wholly Plainslike in character. The dance of the earlier period is more typical of the Plateau, but coastal influences are perceptible. This earlier dance is found among the Wishram, Klamath, and Coeur d'Alêne; and, in modified form, the Kalispel. In the time of Alexander Ross (*circa* 1810) the Nez Percé were participating in it. Perhaps they had already adopted the Plains dance and the two existed side by side, as was the case with the Coeur d'Alêne. However it was not long before the Plains dance became the exclusive form with both, as with the Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai.

The Wishram victory dance

> took place at night, dancing until the early dawn. The scalps and other human trophies were hung on short poles, six feet in length. Women painted red. The dancers formed a ring, or two or three concentrically, going around as they sang. Those holding scalps had places in the inside ring. Widows of men killed in the battle were placed within the circling dancers, where they mourned, and taking a scalp in each hand beat them on the ground. Thus they had revenge.[32]

No mention is made of captives participating in this dance, but they play an important role in the similar dance of the Klamath.

> The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. . . . They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance.[33]

Similarly, among the Nez Percé the captives are made to dance and are severely maltreated by the women. The captives themselves must carry the scalps on poles. The concentric circles are absent here, be-

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[32] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 232.

[33] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 34.

coming parallel lines with the captives between two rows of women, 177
and outside of them rows of men. The Coeur d'Alêne dance was 535
identical, according to Teit.[94] 727

Several points of contrast with the Plains-type dance may be anticipated. The Plateau type is commonly held at night, though this was not true of the Nez Percé, perhaps because of early Plains influence. In the latter area the dance is typically a daytime affair. Both men and women dance in the Plateau ceremony, but in the Plains-like ritual only the women dance and only the men sing and drum. The Plateau dance is held whether deaths have been suffered or not, and perhaps even when victory is problematical. Furthermore, Klamath women begin the dance by crying, even though no Klamath have been killed. In the Plains, and in Plains-like dances in the Plateau, either of these practices would be inconceivable. Of the Plains dance, Smith asserts:

> Inevitably, the victory dances expressed the group's feeling of triumph and superiority They were occasions of "wild rejoicings," festivities "to which all came and enjoyed themselves," celebrations of "uninhibited triumph" in which all was "individualism, all exultation and triumph."[95]

Compare with this the Klamath attitude:

> quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. . . . They fast or at least eat no meat or fish. This is the tabu that the Klamath impose *during every crisis.*[96]

Obviously the one ceremony is conceived and executed in a very different spirit from the other.

Teit provides a description of the Coeur d'Alêne victory dance of the Plains type which well exemplifies that of the general area (Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé ?, Umatilla ?).

> The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been

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[94] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, pp. 310 f.; cf. Spind[illegible] *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 266; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 190.

[95] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 451.

[96] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 33. Italics mine.

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killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. . . . The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours.[97]

A final word of caution is desirable with regard to war antics as a feature of war dances. Such mimicry is found both in the Plateau and the Plains. But to avoid a false appearance of parallelism, it must be added that in the Plateau such war antics are a feature of the pre-conflict dance for protection and success, whereas in the Plains they characterize the post-conflict victory dance and exclusively represent actual experiences of the encounter just completed. Thus the Plateau performances are essentially a kind of sympathetic magic while in the Plains they are a formalized means of boasting and gloating. Imitative magic is normally absent in the Plains complex, according to Smith, unless the recounting of war deeds be considered such.[98]

## GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

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Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observances are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period. In the Canadian Plateau the ceremonial is quite elaborate, and again among the Klamath, but the two ceremonies belong to quite different patterns. In the north the occasion is primarily one of training while among the Klamath it is a dance of announcement. The Klikitat participate in both traditions but neither is especially elaborated. The nearby Wishram are found at the other extreme; they give only very moderate attention to the period. In this respect they affiliate with all other groups of the American Plateau except the Kalispel. The latter definitely share the northern pattern. The Kutenai likewise share certain details of the ceremony with others in the north, but they stand apart in emphasizing several unique features.[99]

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[97] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 189 f.; cf. Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 447 f.

[98] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 445, 448.

[99] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

To the east and west of the Plateau highly contrasting attitudes 177
are observed. In the Plains almost no attention is given to the attain- 841
ment of puberty. The region does not stand alone in this respect, but 881
is merely one with the entire area east of the Rocky Mountains. On the Coast, however, the occasion is utilized as the basis, or sometimes merely the excuse, for dramatic and rigid ritualization.[100]

It is difficult to see why the Wishram fail to participate in the ceremonial richness of either the Klikitat, on the one hand, or the Coast on the other. Wishram contacts with the Coast are closer, in general, than those of any other southern Plateau group. Furthermore, coastal elaboration did not miss the mouth of the Columbia. The Lower Chinook extend puberty observances over a period of five months. Apparently the Wishram in this case cling to the Plateau pattern with more than usual tenacity in the face of outside influence.

It is even more certain that the Flathead and Kutenai are maintaining a typical Plateau pattern against Plains indifference. Both tribes occupy considerable territory on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains and have not been at all hesitant in accepting many aspects of Plains culture. But in this instance both continue to give ritual attention to the achievement of puberty. The situation is quite different with respect to observances linked with subsequent menstrual periods. The Flathead and Kutenai, together with their Plains neighbors, pay no attention whatever to these occasions. The woman is neither isolated nor subjected to any restrictions. In only one other place in the Plateau is this attitude repeated; that is the Wishram. The eastern cases are readily accountable in terms of adjacent Plains custom, but the Wishram are completely surrounded by tribes that both isolate the woman and restrict her actions at this time. This negative attitude is in keeping, however, with the slight attention given to puberty. Also, the Klamath, some distance southward, are rather indifferent toward these periods. Women belonging to a shaman's household are isolated, but perhaps not others. The Klamath do not affiliate with their neighbors to the south in this respect, for isolation is common in northern California.[101]

Since the ceremonialism of the first period is generally an elaboration upon the behavior pattern of each subsequent menstruation, the latter may well be considered as a basis for the discussion of the former. This of course does not apply to the Wishram, Kutenai, or Flathead.

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[100] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 314 ff.

[101] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f.; Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*

### MENSTRUAL PRACTICES

841 881 Isolation is everywhere practiced; the menstruant retires to a small hut at some distance from the house. A common hut for all menstruants is recorded only for the Chilcotin, Southern Okanogan, and Nez Percé.[102] The coastal habit of isolation in a screened corner of the house is found as a secondary practice in a continuous distribution from the Klikitat to the Kalispel (including Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil). Elsewhere it is absent. The occurrences indicate diffusion up the Columbia River.

The period of isolation is that of actual menstruation only or else conforms to the pattern number five. The latter custom is found only in the south central Plateau (Klikitat, Tenino, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi).

A more or less complete fast is required in only two recorded instances, the Sanpoil and Kalispel. Certain fresh foods are tabu among the Southern Okanogan and the Klikitat, but the custom is more consistent and specific in the Canadian Plateau (Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet, Chilcotin, Carrier). Here fresh meat is invariably tabu and salmon also, except among the Thompson. In marked contrast to the Sanpoil, much of the south central area lacks food tabus entirely (Wenatchi, Kittitas, Umatilla, Tenino?). In the extreme south, the Klamath forbid both fresh meat and fish to the menstruant; this is consonant with northern California practice. The widespread tabu against fresh meat is thus broken only in the south central Plateau.[103]

A scratcher, usually a pointed stick, is used in some places so that the menstruant may avoid direct contact of the fingers with the body, especially the head. But this practice is much less extensive for the menstruant than for the pubescent. The instances are Klamath, Klikitat, Sanpoil, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Carrier; absent: Tenino, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Kalispel, Lillooet, Thompson, Coeur d'Alêne. The longitudinal spread is impressive, even though interrupted.

All except the last of these distributions tend to exhibit a south central area in contrast to a northern one, with the Athabascans included in the latter. The Klamath stand somewhat apart, facing southward in some respects. All of the traits noted have distributions outside the Plateau, especially in California.

[102] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 111 f.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 198.

[103] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 134; Cline, *loc. cit.*; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f., cf. p. 316.

826 841 The central groups, notably the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan, place strong emphasis on the contaminating properties of blood. Most of the tabus are explained, or at least rationalized, in such terms. The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating women from contaminating other people and things argues against too literal acceptance of the declarations that menstruants are always isolated. There are not only tabus, but remedies in case these are broken. In the central Plateau the menstruant is not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She is forbidden to walk around the head of a bed, to take water from certain sources, to touch weapons, and the like. Yet in the menstrual hut there is no opportunity for such actions. But in fact much of the ill that befalls a household is attributed to the harmful influences of menstruating women.[104]

### PUBERTY ISOLATION AND TRAINING

841 881 In the southern Plateau, excepting the Klamath, the puberty ritual is essentially the menstrual ritual somewhat more elaborated. For example, the Southern Okanogan girl

> left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, on pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red and yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from. . . . She remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. . . . When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon a long period of purification. . . . According to varying report, this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal of individual and local variation.[105]

The long duration is reminiscent of northern practice. Among the Sanpoil, isolation lasts but ten days. Other details are closely similar, except that the girl is expected to engage in a certain amount of early morning exercise, especially running about the hills. This, too, is a northern custom, but is not unknown elsewhere.

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[104] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 134 f.

[105] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 110 f.

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Farther south the practices are even simpler; special dress and hairdress are infrequent. Duration is short and fixed, usually at five days. The Tenino observe a ten day period, paralleling the Sanpoil (also northern California). Stale food is prohibited by the Klikitat, fresh food ~~by the~~ Umatilla. The Kittitas and Wenatchi observe a nominally complete fast. The Tenino have a common hut for all pubescents; at least so I have recorded. This is quite foreign to Plateau usage although there is a suggestion of it for the Southern Okanogan.[106]

The Flathead pattern incorporates a number of these practices but does not involve actual isolation. The principal and prescribed activity of the four day period is the gathering of large quantities of wood which anyone may appropriate. The following month the procedure is repeated.

The Kutenai ritual, in contrast, is highly specialized. The girl is isolated, either summer or winter, in a conical hut of bark. No food tabus are enforced, but water is restricted in quantity. She must not speak to anyone except her mother, who serves as proctor. Leading from the hut is a path of poles upon which the girl must walk when she leaves the shelter. Under no circumstances may she step directly on the ground. Inside is an elevated platform of poles on which she sits. Her fingers, and also her toes, are twined together with string so that they may not be separated. This is to insure against stiffening of the fingers in later life. At the end of five days the proctor rebraids the girl's hair and tightens the twining of the fingers and toes. On the tenth day she bathes in a stream and returns to camp, but continues to eat apart for some time. One year later these observances are repeated, but this time for five days only.

Among the Canadian Salish the occasion is utilized primarily as a formal training period. The practices of the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap are fairly similar; those of the Kalispel belong here, too, though less elaborate. A résumé of Thompson practices will provide the picture. The pubescent is at once isolated in a conical hut. A girl sometimes moves to the mountains, accompanied by her parents. She wears a conical headdress of fir twigs during the first four days. For this period she does not wash or eat and drinks but little water. Inside the hut she squats on her heels, often in a pit which almost conceals her. She is wrapped in a heavy blanket, which she wears almost continuously. During the nights she runs about the hills; collects quantities of

[106] Cline, *loc. cit.*

wood which she burns; sings, dances, and prays. She digs trenches in the ground and carries heavy rocks about. She also engages in a number of arbitrary, time-consuming activities which have no practical purpose. She splits small fir trees from top to bottom and loops and ties the branches of others. For hours she plucks needles from fir boughs. 841 881

After the first four days she discards the heavy robe, except at night, and is allowed somewhat greater freedom in her activities. She may eat sparingly, lie down, and comb her hair. She is allowed to bathe but may touch her body only with a brush made of fir twigs. She uses a scratcher and a drinking tube. The arbitrary activities continue, and each night is spent in traveling about the hills and engaging in strenuous activity so that she may be strong and sound as an adult. She returns to her hut at daybreak each morning. Each day she paints her face and arranges her hair in rolls on either side.[107]

The isolation lasts for four months. In earlier times it may have been a year, as it is among the Shuswap. The Lillooet period is much shorter, being only twenty days, but in earlier times it equalled that of the Shuswap. The Kalispel girl remains isolated but five days, the southern pattern. All use the scratcher, and all but the Kalispel the drinking tube. The Kalispel girl does not fast or observe food tabus.

The Carrier and Chilcotin observances are very moderate compared to these. The duration for the former is four or five days, the latter, ten. Both observe a tabu against fresh food and hot food. The Chilcotin use the drinking tube but not the Carrier. The scratcher is common to both. Tattooing is done at this time by the Chilcotin. Neither have the hair dress with rolls at the side of the head. The period is one of isolation but not of vigorous exercise.

### DANCE OF NOTIFICATION

The ritualism of the Wishram and Klamath conforms to quite a different pattern. The Klikitat also participate in this tradition as well as in that described above. Instead of complete isolation or prolonged training, the ritual is here one of notification with public dancing as a central feature.

Spier has defined the area of which this ritual is characteristic, and has described the type:

> In Oregon and northern California there was a dance in which the girl participated each night of her period of seclusion. During the day she lay

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[107] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 311-17.

841 881 quietly at home or in a hut, alternating this with periods of strenuous activity, gathering firewood or uselessly piling logs. At dawn she ran toward the east. She wore a feather visor or her head was covered to hold her gaze averted whenever she emerged. Two dance forms occurred together: a circling ring and a line abreast trotting to and fro. Their accompaniment was a deer-hoof rattle; the songs related to men and women or to food products. The duration of the rite was quite consistently five or ten days. In Oregon at least this was the occasion for a vision quest. Throughout the region the performance was repeated at one or more subsequent illnesses.[108]

Specifically, among the Wishram, the duration is five days during which a dance is held each night. On the final evening the girl appears decorated with bead necklaces. These and other gifts are distributed among the guests.[109]

The Klikitat ritual is considerably more elaborate. Both the round dance and the abreast dance are performed. The girl stands in the center and sings but does not dance. The songs are "women's songs" or "love songs." The deer hoof rattle and hand drums are used. Gifts are distributed during the dancing. When a gift is displayed a dancer desiring it raises his hand in indication. Upon receiving it he dances about holding it aloft. A feature of the ritualism is a symbolic washing of the girl by her grandmother. The dances last for five nights and are repeated at a later time.

Among the Klamath the girl herself dances throughout the night. The guests both dance and sing. The girl dances with downcast eyes. The hairdress is related to that encountered before; the braids are arranged to form two clubs which are bound with braided cords. Buckbrush bands are worn around the neck, wrists, ankles, below the knees, and around the waist.[110]

### GENERAL

177 881 The groups just discussed clearly affiliate with others who practice partial isolation coupled with a dance of notification, as depicted by Spier. This includes northern California and the southernmost coast of Oregon. But the remainder of the Oregon coast lacks the dance. The Tillamook are a possible exception. In describing the observances by the Tillamook girl, Boas states, "Sometimes she would dance during the night." Barnett questions the presence of the dance of notification,

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[108] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 318.

[109] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

[110] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70.

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even though suggested by his own data. The Lower Chinook hold a simple one-day dance for friends, on the fifth day, at which the girl is not present. At the end of five months of isolation another ceremony is held in which the girl makes her appearance and takes part in the dancing and singing.[111]

This distribution suggests that the dance may have diffused northward from California along the Cascades rather than along the coast. The Klikitat would represent the northernmost point reached. From the Klikitat and the Wishram the dance may well have filtered down the Columbia Valley, reaching the Lower Chinook and modifying slightly the Northwest complex already present there. Immediately to the south, the Tillamook were even less influenced.

This Northwest complex has likewise been phrased by Spier.

> In the Northwest the adolescent girl was secluded in a closed-off section of her home, squatting in a constrained position, her head covered by a hat or mat. At the expiration of this period of seclusion a potlatch, a feast with distribution of property, was given in her honor by her parents. A series of songs were sung, hereditary in her family and satirical in nature or relating to love affairs. The personal restrictions continued for a period upward to a year.[112]

Obviously, the Oregon practices and those of the Northwest are not mutually exclusive. The giving of presents (Wishram, Klikitat, Northwest) and the duration (Lower Chinook: five days isolation, ceremony at end of five months) may be mentioned. This represents true overlapping of local specialties, not common participation in universal elements. Just so, the Plateau practices show affiliation at some points with the Northwest, at others with northern California. Yet two sub-areas may be delimited on the basis of dominant ritual characteristics.

The Canadian Plateau Salish stand out most clearly. The period is one of long duration during which strenuous activity is continuous. The motivating factor is training and the insurance of good health and strength for the future. Magical acts toward this end are numerous. The isolation and activities are away from the village, preferably in the mountains. The girl spends her time alone; she is visited when necessary by a proctor, usually her mother. A period of purification ends the isolation, but there are no activities that may be construed as notification.

[111] Boas, *Notes on the Tillamook*, p. 6; Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 181; Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 71 f.

[112] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 317 f.

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The long duration is reminiscent of the Coast, but in this case it is a period of enforced activity; on the Coast, restricted activity. The coastal proctor remains close at hand; the girl remains in the village. Guardian spirits are obtained at this time by the Plateau girl, but this is incidental to the isolation and training.

In the southern Plateau, as noted above, the ritual is essentially an elaboration of the menstrual tabus. Occasion is taken to impress upon the girl the deep significance and potency of menstrual uncleanliness. Old clothing is worn; hair dress is specified; food tabus are emphasized; isolation is complete; the duration is short, conforming to the pattern number five, sometimes doubled. Guardian spirits may be obtained; again this is incidental. Purification is simply by bathing. No notification is involved.

A few elements of widespread distribution in the West now demand attention. The girl's face is hidden or her gaze held averted by a visor, large hat, mat or basket, from central California northward on the coast to the Tlingit. This practice filters into the northern Plateau, where a conical hat of twigs is worn, but is absent to the south. Bands are worn around the joints among the Klamath and sporadically on the Coast. This custom is not found in the Plateau but may be related to the widespread Plateau practice of wearing such bands after mourning. The stooped posture of the Coast is found in even more emphasized form in the northern Plateau. Nowhere in the area does the girl characteristically recline, as on the Oregon coast. The elevated platform on which the Kutenai girl sits is suggestive of the plank on which the Tillamook girl must squat, but the parallel is perhaps superficial. The path of poles and the twining of the fingers of the Kutenai appear unique. The repetition of the observances at a following period is found most characteristically in northern California, is absent in the south central Plateau, but recurs among the Flathead, Kutenai, Shuswap, and Lillooet. The two last cases may be the result of recent shortening of the initial period.

Most impressive in distribution are the arbitrary tasks assigned to the girl. The gathering of wood is demanded by many northern California tribes. The Maidu girl, for example, piles logs to no purpose. The Thompson girl likewise gathers firewood, and piles rocks. But the wood gathered is used for fires which the girl builds. On the other hand, wood gathered by the Flathead girl may be appropriated by anyone, and she carries quantities of water whether it is needed or not.

It was mentioned above that in the Canadian Plateau the girl interminably plucks needles, one at a time, from conifer boughs. Far to the south, the Mohave girl "goes about plucking leaves from arrowweed brush—a perfectly useless labor—merely because she would forever be lazy if she remained sitting in the house."[113] Related practices are found in California. 177 881

The scratcher, either stick or comb, appears to be present throughout the Plateau except with the Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, and perhaps the Nez Percé and Wishram. The drinking tube is much less common, being used only by the Klikitat, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Lillooet, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Kutenai, and Flathead (uncertain: Nez Percé, Wishram).

### DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

Clear-cut distributional differences are found in the Plateau with respect to disposal of the dead. The forms are numerous: inhumation; cremation; disposition in boxes, in baskets, on elevated platforms, in trees, in small elevated houses. Cremation occurs in the extreme north and south. Among the Carrier and the Klamath it is the exclusive form, except that Carrier children are sometimes buried in baskets. The Chilcotin, Shuswap, and Thompson practice cremation under certain circumstances, and the Coeur d'Alêne very rarely. Tree burial is utilized for permanent disposal by the Lower Thompson; for temporary disposal by the Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan, and Lillooet. The Lower Thompson also employ boxes and small houses as containers for the corpse. These are always elevated, sometimes in trees, sometimes on a platform. House burial reappears among the Wishram but in this case without elevation. Basket burial is employed by the Lillooet. Among the other Plateau tribes inhumation is practiced exclusively. 764

Talus slopes and gravel banks provide the most common sites for burial in the southern Plateau. River banks and islands are frequently used. Quite to the contrary, the Canadian Salish almost invariably sink their graves in soil, preferably loose or sandy soil. There is little consistency in location relative to the village: the Tenino, Klikitat, Lillooet, and Chilcotin prefer sites some distance removed. The Flathead invariably select a spot that is obscure and thus not easily found by enemies who might disinter and rifle the remains. If no such location

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[113] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 748.

724 is available, horses are tethered on top of the fresh grave to eradicate all indications of the burial. Grave markers naturally are not used by them. In other parts of the southern Plateau, erect sticks or simple posts are used to indicate the location. The Umatilla do not follow this prac-

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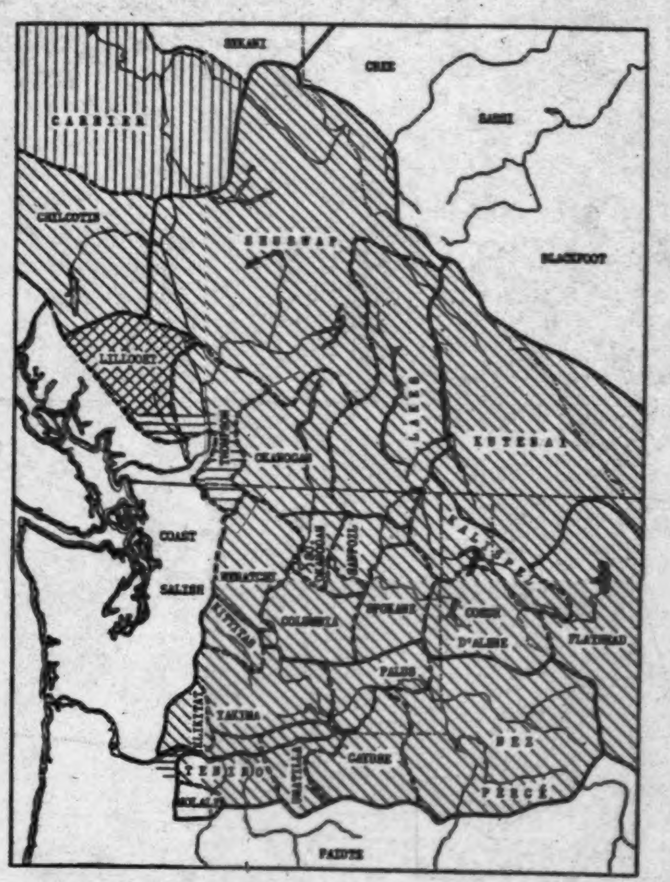
SEKANI
CREE
SARSI
CARRIER
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAP
BLACKFOOT
LILLOOET
LAKES
THOMPSON
OKANOGAN
KUTENAI
COAST
SALISH
WENATCHI
OKANOGAN
SANPOIL
KALISPEL
KITTITAS
COLUMBIA
SPOKANE
COEUR D'ALENE
FLATHEAD
PALUS
KLIKITAT
YAKIMA
NEZ
CAYUSE
PERCÉ
TENINO
UMATILLA
MOLALA
PAIUTE

Map 6. Disposal of the dead: dominant forms. *Vertical hatching:* cremation; *cross hatching:* basket burial and inhumation; *horizontal hatching:* box or house burial; *diagonal hatching:* inhumation.

764 tice but use a large rock instead. The Kutenai place a pole on the ground on each side of the mound left after filling the grave. In other parts of the Canadian Plateau more elaborate grave markers are used.

Over most graves [of the Upper Thompson] were erected conical huts

> made of poles covered with bark or with fir-branches. Others, those belonging to the richer people, had conical tents made of skins or mats put 764 over them. Poles were also erected at many graves, and on these were suspended many of the articles belonging to the dead person. The poles always had the bark peeled off, and were painted. . . . On many graves, particularly in the country near Lytton, the canoe of the deceased was placed bottom side up. On some graves were wooden figures almost life size, carved as nearly as [532] possible in the likeness of the deceased person, whether man or woman. The Indians say that a long time ago grave figures were not used by the Upper Thompsons, and that this custom was borrowed from the lower division,[114]

which in turn, it may be added, received it from the people of the lower Fraser River. The Shuswap use shelters similar to those described, but do not place canoes or carved posts on graves. The Upper Lillooet build a framework of four poles from which are suspended the belongings of the deceased.

In general very little attention is given to lining the grave, although poles or bark may sometimes be used for the purpose. Of the Flathead, however, Turney-High writes,

> They say the oldest method was to prepare a floor of flat stone slabs when these could be had. A wall of such stones was then built up higher than the depth of the corpse. A houselike structure was then prepared to protect his head and feet. Saplings were laid over this stone structure and a parfleche *stretched over them before the grave was filled in.*[115]

Alternative, simpler methods are also described.

The grave is prepared for flexed or extended burial according to usage. In the north central Plateau (Lillooet, Shuswap, Upper Thompson, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alêne) the body is invariably flexed but in all other parts of the area the extended position is found.

Although cremation is the universal practice of the Carrier, and perhaps the Sekani, Morice interprets it as a recent importation from the Coast. The original custom of the Athabascans, he asserts,

> seems to have been to enclose the bodies within rough cratings made of small logs crossed at the ends, which were raised from three to seven feet above the ground on stout poles or posts, much after the manner of the scaffoldings whereon they cache their provisions and other household impedimenta. . . . [417]

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[114] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 329.

[115] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 142.

> 764 [The Sekani] occasionally concealed the remains of their dear ones within trees hollowed out for the purpose. Simple plebians, or people who enjoyed no special consideration, were simply left where they died, their fellows immediately lowering on their scarcely-cold bodies the shelters they had lived in, and moving on in their incessant peregrinations after game. In no case was cremation resorted to. But the Babines and Carriers had no sooner come in contact with the Skeena representatives of the Tsimshian stock, among whom the dead were cremated, than forsooth they commenced to burn the remains of those who fell out from among them. They even went so far as to erect as resting places for the small bones that would escape the ravages of the fire, those lofty funeral poles with square ornamented boxes so common along the coast of the northern Pacific. . . . Harmon, one of the first representatives of the Northwest Fur Trading Company in the west, tells us that the influence of the Carriers was leading the Sekanais to burn their dead.[116]

Jenness, in turn, quotes Harmon to the effect that cremation supplanted burial in the ground and adds,

> The present-day Sekani have a clear remembrance of cremation, but not of burial in the ground. They assert that they discontinued cremation before the middle of the century, and reverted to an ancient custom, never entirely abandoned, of covering the dead with the brush huts that had sheltered them during their last days and then deserting the locality; but men of influence during that period they deposited in coffins raised on platforms or trees.[117]

It seems probable that the "coffins" referred to by Jenness are the "rough cratings" of Morice. If true boxes were intended, such as those used by the Carrier for bones, it seems certain that they were adopted from the Carrier. Since the latter received them from the Coast at a relatively late time, they surely could not belong to an old culture stratum of Sekani culture. One thing appears certain: the Sekani-Carrier do not practice inhumation and have not for time immemorial. They are thus quite definitely set apart from the peoples to the south in this respect.

Furthermore, cremation is fairly well established as a recent importation from the Coast, the older and typical method of disposal involving felling the hut over the body. The Chilcotin were coming to use cremation more and more up to the time of its abandonment through white influence. This increase was apparently the result of more frequent contact with the Coast. The use of cremation by the Shuswap and Thompson is limited to deaths far from home or during warfare. The Thompson cremate less frequently than the Shuswap. This, together with the fact that the Lower Thompson do not cremate, indicates that the custom reached this area from the Chilcotin or more probably the Carrier. This suggests that the practice is of but slight age.

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[116] Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 199.

[117] Jenness, *Indians of Canada*, p. 382; cf. Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 62.

An alternative explanation for the presence of cremation here, and possibly to the north, is that these practices are but the remnants of ancient custom. The nature and distribution of the trait does not favor this interpretation, and it would not deserve a thought except for the archaeological presence of cremation somewhat farther south, and the current practice of the Klamath-Modoc. On the other hand, archaeological evidence within Lower Thompson territory shows inhumation to have been the former practice, although more recently disposal has been above ground. A final answer must wait upon further digging in the Plateau; at present the weight of evidence favors an outside origin for cremation.[118]

Klamath cremation links with that of northeastern California; the nearby Plateau tribes uniformly lack the practice.

The Wishram stand alone in the southern Plateau in their use of burial houses. For the particular type of structure there is no parallel anywhere in the Plateau; the miniature "houses" of the Lower Thompson differ considerably. The Wishram

> burial house was a small rectangular structure of planks set over a shallow pit, measuring about ten feet to the side and six feet high, and with a shed-roof, that is, with but a single pitch. The wall planks were set vertically. . . . "In them the bodies were laid with their heads to the west, sometimes piled up to a depth of three or four feet. Carved wooden images were frequently set up around the vaults, and the planks were often carved and painted to represent men or various animals."[119]

Disposal by the Lower Thompson is predominately in boxes; in fact, the "houses" referred to above are scarcely more than large boxes provided with sloping roofs. All types, large and small, are built up of cedar planks; none are dug out.

The boxes had lids, and were supported by posts, which were also often

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[118] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 271; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 335 f.; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 71–73.

[119] Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*

### TABLE 1. AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF TYPICAL ASPECTS OF PLATEAU SOCIAL CULTURE*

| | *Aspects* | Klamath | Nez Percé | Umatilla | Tenino | Wishram | Klikitat | Kittitas | Wenatchi | S. Okanogan | Sanpoil | Coeur d'Alêne | Kalispel | Flathead | Kutenai | Thompson | Shuswap | Lillooet | Chilcotin | Carrier |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Political | Strict local autonomy | | | | — | | | | | | — | | | | | | | | | |
| | Small bands of villages | | | | | | | | | — | | | | | | — | — | — | — | — |
| | Chieftainship loosely hereditary | | | | | | | | — | — | — | — | — | | — | — | — | | | |
| | Female chiefs (other than substitutes) | | | | | | | | | — | | — | | | | | | | | |
| | Chief's spokesman | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | | — | | |
| | Fishing rights local; hunting land unrestricted | | | | — | | | — | — | — | — | | | | | — | — | — | | |
| | Communal fishing weirs | | | | — | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | — | | | |
| | Social equality for freemen | — | | | — | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | — | — | | | |
| | All men free (no slavery) | | | | | | | | | — | — | | | | | | | | | |
| | Slaves rare | | — | — | — | | — | — | — | | | — | — | — | — | | — | | | |
| Warfare | Strict pacifism | | | | | | | | | — | — | | | | | | | | | |
| | Warfare rare | | | | | | — | — | — | | | — | — | | | | | | | |
| | Warfare raid-like | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | — | — | — | | |
| | Dance for supernatural aid precedes | — | — | | | — | — | | | | | — | | | | — | — | — | — | — |
| | Plateau type victory dance | — | — | | | — | | | | | | — | — | | | | | | | |
| Puberty | Ceremony for boys | | | | | | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | |
| | Isolation, intensive training for girls | | | | | | | | | | | | — | | | — | — | — | | |
| | Elaborated menstrual tabus | | — | — | — | | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | | | | | |
| | Isolation at subsequent menstrual periods | — | — | — | — | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | — | — | — | — | — |
| Burial | Inhumation in soil | | | | | | | | | | | | | — | | — | — | — | — | |
| | Inhumation in talus, gravel | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | | |
| | Body flexed | | | | | | | | | — | — | — | — | | | — | — | — | | |
| | Body extended | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | | — | — | | | | — | |
| | Grave exorcised | | | | | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | — | | |

painted and carved. Each box belonged to a family or group of families, and many bodies were placed in the same box. When the boxes were full, a new one was made and placed near by. Some of these boxes had pitched roofs. Poles and grave figures were put up around the boxes. Articles of clothing and other offerings were often attached to these. . . . A few old burial places consisted of a staging erected on poles or posts. The bodies were wrapped in mats of cedar-bark in a sitting position, and deposited in boxes or on the stagings.[120]

There can be no question as to the origin of the disposal practices of the Wishram and Lower Thompson. Both were received from the Coast, one via the Columbia River, the other via the Fraser River. Likewise, the basket burial of the Lillooet is clearly coastal in origin. The large coiled basket merely has been substituted for the box.

[120] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 335.

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* The table presents traits of social culture typical to the Plateau but not necessarily exclusive to it.

The tribes are listed in approximate geographical order from south to north. The vertical lines mark transitions from one linguistic stock to another. The double lines separate tribes of the Canadian or northern Plateau from those of the American or southern Plateau. The geographical area of the northern part is about equal to that of the southern portion; the latter occupies more space on the chart merely because a larger number of groups is represented.

Breaks in the lines on the chart represent ascertained distributional absence, not merely lack of knowledge, except occasionally for the Wishram and Nez Percé.

Certain traits shown on the maps are utilized here also in order that they may be brought into visual relationship. Also, the table supplements the maps, adding the Klamath, whose extreme southerly habitat is beyond the border of the maps.

The charts are intended primarily as visual aids. Most of the items included are discussed in the text.

# RELIGIOUS LIFE

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## THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT CONCEPT

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The guardian spirit concept has been given more thorough comparative study than any other aspect of Northwestern culture. Benedict selected the practices of the Thompson Indians as the type picture for her general study of the concept.[1] Likewise much of her documentary data were drawn from the Northwest. Later Spier furnished a penetrating analysis for western America with the Klamath as the point of reference.[2] Very recently, under Spier's stimulation, Park made a similar but even more exhaustive analysis with the Paviotso as the point d'appui.[3]

It remains here, then, merely to add new data and inquire to what extent the conclusions of earlier writers may be modified thereby.

### Descriptive Sketches

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For purposes of orientation three brief descriptions will be given, summarizing the spirit notions of the Sanpoil, the Kutenai, and the Carrier. These are selected because they represent high points in the differential development of the complex in the interior, and will provide bases upon which intervening variations may be pictured. Two other equally important groups for reference are the Thompson and the Klamath, but these, as indicated, h[illegible]ready been handled in comparative studies. Likewise the Paviots[illegible] the Basin.

The Sanpoil pattern needs but brief résumé since it is already described in published form.[4] Spirits are non-human in character though they appear in visions and dreams in human guise. The "true" form is assumed while disappearing after the communion. The range of spirits is theoretically unlimited in both the animate and inanimate categories. Every known animal serves to some extent, though natural phenomena and inanimate objects are much less commonly exploited. Heavenly bodies do not contribute. Most spirits are generic in nature[5] but specific tutelaries are not uncommon. In the latter category fabricated objects are quite numerous.

It is incumbent upon every boy to engage in a series of one-night

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[1] Benedict, *Guardian Spirit Concept.*

[2] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 239–79.

[3] Park, *Shamanism.*

[4] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 169–211.

[5] That is, the name refers abstractly to the genus, not to a specific animal.

quests for guardian spirits during the years immediately preceding 776
puberty. Post-pubertal quests are never made. Many girls (twenty or 787
thirty percent) likewise observe vigils. The visionary visits obscure spots, mountain tops, or bodies of water. He ordinarily carries an object given him by his proctor, an old man. This object is not symbolic but is to be deposited at the destination to prove his faithfulness to instructions. Activities during the night include constant alertness, building of rock piles, diving in water, and imitative activities such as "playing the stick game with the spirits."

The actual experience comes in a vision, or in a dream which is interpreted as a vision. The visionary is cautioned above all not to fall asleep or even interrupt activity for rest. But a youngster of tender age doubtless finds it difficult to comply to the letter with this interdiction. Yet he surely makes an attempt, for very early in life he learns that a successful spirit experience is indispensable to any valued achievement as an adult, indeed to avoid complete social insignificance. Now the psychological state most conducive to a vision is that semi-conscious condition just preceding actual sleep, or preceding actual awareness following awakening. Add to this the physical conditions inherent in the quest—nakedness; inclement weather (often); portentous sounds of the night; strange, spirit-infested surroundings where even adults would fear to tread; abnormal activity such as playing a game with a row of rocks which may at any moment come to life—and it is surprising that a quest ever fails to result in a vision.

The vision is of a highly formulated nature. The spirit, resembling a man, appears suddenly and speaks, asserting his friendliness and desire to help the visionary to a full adult life. He offers his supernatural help in certain activities and toward general good fortune and health. Before leaving he identifies himself, gives the suppliant a song and, less often, a dance step. The visionary reaches normal consciousness with the song ringing in his ears.

The boy or girl immediately returns home but does not reveal the outcome of the quest to anyone. Subsequent vigils are kept with the hope of adding to the number of one's tutelaries. The quests are brought to an end by puberty, whereupon all of the experiences are purposely "forgotten" and never recalled until the unsolicited reappearance of the
spirits at maturity (twenty-five to thirty years of age). This repression 776
for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. 787
By the time the spirit returns the individual has found his place in the 869

776 community. His talents are known to himself and to others, and his
787 character likewise. The type of activity which is to predominate in his
869 life is usually fixed. None of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of forced forgetting the details of the experiences are naturally, without conscious falsification, reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual finds himself established. The true situation is probably this: the spirit or spirits do not return (are not recalled) until the person is firmly established in life.[6]

533 The return of one's spirit is marked by a feeling of lonesomeness
756 or despondency. A shaman "removes" or "captures" the spirit, holds
776 it to his ear to "hear" the song, and returns it to the patient. The song
787 is first sung, or started, by the shaman; the patient then sings alone. Shamans are thus indicated as the effective composers of spirit songs.[7]

The type of power one receives is not the result of a specific quest objective nor correlated with the particular spirit received. Any strong spirit is capable of supplying the help required for success in any activity, including shamanism. But some spirits are consistently weaker than others; these spirits seldom presume to convey shamanistic talents, and even in other activities the help given is limited in degree.

776 Among the Kutenai the above picture is considerably modified. The
787 range of spirits is even wider, including many inanimate objects and heavenly bodies, but not mythological characters. But these spirits appear in strikingly different form. For the most part they retain their animal-like appearance in contact with man, though to youths they may appear as young men or women. Spirits are generic or specific, the former predominating.

All boys and some girls observe the quest, but adults are also privileged to obtain power. Adults, however, are less frequently successful than youths. The Kutenai quest is not of a single night's duration, except rarely. The suppliant prolongs the quest until success is achieved. This seldom requires longer than seven days. If the pursuit proves wholly fruitless a second attempt may be made at a later time. Before departing on his quest, the vision-seeker is sometimes smudged

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[6] Cf. Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 238.

[7] This aligns with Radin's notion that shamans are the effective formalizers of religion in America (*Religion of the North American Indian*).

over a fire of juniper. As among the Sanpoil, he receives an object to 776
carry, but in this case it is highly symbolic. It represents a specific 787
animal and aids in obtaining power from that animal. It is carried on a
string around the neck and only occasionally deposited at the destination. Usually it is kept throughout life.

As suggested by the use of the symbol, particular spirits are often sought, the selection being made by the father. The spirit chosen is not uniformly one of those possessed by the parent, however. This links with specific statements that spirits are not hereditary. Further, a particular spirit always conveys a specific type of power. This suggests that in effect the search is directed toward a type of power rather than a specific spirit. It also indicates a wide divergence from the Sanpoil pattern.

Throughout the quest a fast is maintained. This parallels Sanpoil practice but the functional significance is slight in the latter case because of the brief duration. The Kutenai suppliant visits a definite spirit locale in the mountains or on the prairie but does not pile rocks except at the one spot where success is achieved. Diving in lakes is practiced with the definite anticipation of finding a spirit below. Caves are used for shelter and sought as possible spirit locales.

The Kutenai vision pattern exhibits several new elements. The experience may come in either a dream or a vision. The spirit, in the guise of animal or youth, appears, disappears, and reappears in various quarters. The conversation is less formalized than with the Sanpoil but
instructions are given and promises made. A song is invariably conferred. 533
Indeed, in some cases the spirit does not appear at all; only a 776
song is heard. In this event the song conveys the nature of the power 787
and the identity of the spirit. The spirit, or the song, is conceived as actually entering the visionary's body at a particular spot, causing a sort of hypnotism. Thenceforward the spot is sacred. When the individual wishes help he taps the spot and thus calls his guardian. To others the spot is tabu. Actual communion with the spirit is infrequent subsequent to the quest, but upon such occasions the spirit carries his charge back to the site of first contact.

The song is all important and all-sufficient to the experience. No dance step, animal cry, nor symbol is given to the visionary.

Unsought reception of spirit power is frequent among the Kutenai, 776
not rare as with the Sanpoil. It is not essential that such power be accepted. 787

776 787 The pattern of forgetting the spirit until maturity is entirely foreign to the Kutenai. The power apparently is effective from the moment of the experience. However, the nature of the experience and identity of the spirit are never revealed in words, not even upon the death bed. Disclosure would bring death. Of course the identity is guessed by others through the talents displayed.

The Kutenai do not seek more than one spirit, for power cannot thereby be multiplied. Informants ambiguously state that "one spirit carries the power (not the talents) of all." This may imply that the degree of spiritual power possessed by any man is more or less a constant, the avenue of utilization being restricted by the identity of the spirit. But it is difficult to reconcile the further declaration that certain spirits are more powerful than others. However, this may merely mean that shamanistic utilization of power is more potent than secular exploitation.

756 776 787 869 The picture presented by the Lower Carrier differs both in many details and in general form. Only a few boys and even fewer girls seek spirit power. Adults may obtain power but acquisition during early years is more common. As among the Kutenai, the father often selects the spirit to be sought (except that the eldest son makes his own choice) but the spirit desired is not always achieved and the nature of the power conveyed is not uniformly consistent.

The seeker of lay power keeps daytime vigils for a period of a month while the aspirant to shamanism seeks power each night for a year. In each case the intervening hours, day or night, are spent at home, and wandering is restricted to the immediate vicinity. This may appear to be a partial parallel to Sanpoil practice but the resemblance is only apparent, not real. It is the pattern of the vision that proves this.

In the vision pattern two aspects stand out with a prominence which overshadows all else in the complex. First, the "vision" is a dream, or rather a series of dreams which form both the soul and substance of the concept. Secondly, these dreams are initiated only through the agency of a proctor.

To the south we have seen an old man or parent in a minimal role of proctor, supervising and instructing the suppliant, but the latter always enters upon the quest alone and achieves success only through his own initiative. In contrast the Carrier visionary assumes a distinctly passive role and success depends upon the power and knowledge

of the proctor.[8] The objective differs also; power or spirit guardianship 756
as such are not sought. It is the ability to dream at will that is desired. 776
A vague store of power is never conveyed, nor is the possession of a 787
spirit of any efficacy in itself. A man can call supernatural power into 869
play for his advantage only through dreaming. And if this power is to be available at critical moments the ability to dream at will must be possessed. Thus the real measure of success in the spirit quest is not the identity of the spirit nor the nature of the power, but the degree to which dreams become volitional.

The ability to dream is achieved by the proctor sleeping with the suppliant under a blanket symbolic of the power sought. The bed is usually made in the sweat house and the vigils begin at about ten years of age. As noted above, lay power comes through sleeping in the daytime, but shamanistic power is achieved at night. The shamanistic aspirant may sleep in the sweat house, but often he goes to a cremation place. This is not that he may receive an ancestral spirit, but that he may come in close contact with the forces of life and death and the influences of deceased shamans. The latter often become the visionary's temporary proctors, so that he may sleep in fact alone and yet not in effect be alone. Often he "awakens" with a start to find himself high on a mountain top or in some other distant spot. But the spirits who carried him there also return him to the original spot.

For the lay seeker, sleeping does not occupy the entire day. Other activities include sweating, massaging with spruce boughs, bathing, and wandering about. This wandering is accomplished in a trance which makes the visionary unaware of his actions or his path.

The vigils are ended and success ascertained through sleeping with a shaman. Up to this point the proctor is ordinarily the child's father. If the shaman awakens suddenly and jumps up shouting, success is indicated. Otherwise the quest is prolonged. Spirits themselves are highly restricted both in number and type. Only a few animals function and even fewer birds and insects. Natural phenomena and heavenly

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[8] In discussing puberty fasting among the Ojibwa, Radin makes certain general observations concerning the spirit quest which are pertinent here. He evaluates the importance of the parent or proctor in determining the nature of the spirit experience. He also discusses the degree to which the experience is reinterpreted in later years: "The dream experience formula probably does not exist at the time of fasting in any clearly defined form, but it probably represents the increasing influence of the cultural environment, and the knowledge of those details of the fast that he learns from the generation of his parents and grandparents, as he grows older" (*Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting*, pp. 75–78).

756 bodies are not uncommon. Fabricated objects may serve, but not other
776 inanimate things. The spirits always appear in "true" or animal form,
787 but may have certain human characteristics. The conceptual nature and
869 generic source of shamanistic power do not differ from lay power, but both the quest and the spirits are specialized. The details of one's quest dreams and the identity of one's spirits are never disclosed, though the proctor knows, of course, and one's activities provide clues.

Among other bands of the Carrier the above practices are varied somewhat. Jenness provides the following instructive remarks:

> Carrier Indians to the eastward, at Fraser Lake and beyond, made every youth seek an animal protector or guardian spirit, and taught him how he might gain it. Night after night during the summer months the youth wandered away alone or in company with another to sleep in solitude on a hillside, or beside a lake or a river, where an unbroken silence promoted dreaming and the contact of his shadow with the world of animals. The weirder or more dangerous his sleeping-place the more hope he entertained of achieving his quest. Some youths therefore slept on boughs overhanging the water, or hung, head downward over a rock-slide, secured from falling by a thong around one leg; some slept in graveyards, which the Indians tended to avoid on other occasions. Not every dream betokened a significant visitation from the animal world, but only a dream so vivid that it printed itself indelibly on the memory. Then the bird, the fish, or the animal so revealed became the youth's guardian spirit, which he could summon to his aid in time of crises. . . .
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> At Fraser Lake and Stoney Creek . . . the Indians conceived that most youths were unsuccessful in their quest, that only a favored few obtained guardian spirits, and that these few became the medicine-men able to cure diseases and foresee the future. . . .
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> The lay Indian (as well as the shaman) did not cease to dream, or to believe that his dreams opened up contact with the spiritual world and thereby brought him substantial benefits. If he was swift of foot his swiftness came from dreams in which he seemed to pursue and overtake the fleeting caribou; if unusually successful in his salmon fishing his success came from dreaming about the salmon; for even the layman's dreams gave him power to accomplish whatever the dream signified.
>
> [One of Jenness' informants furnished this telling anecdote:] "I have never dreamed a great deal, so I have never been a very successful hunter. One season I caught a beaver, not in the jaws of the trap, but with the chain, which became wound round the animal's legs. I do not know why this should have happened, because I have seldom dreamed about the beaver, and never of catching a beaver in that unusual manner."[9]

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[9] Jenness, *Carrier Religion.*

This suggests another aspect of the Lower Carrier pattern. The 756
visionary dreams of many animals, though only one or a few prove to 776
be those he can subsequently recall in dreams. Regardless of the tute- 787
lary received, the final dream of the quest series is of the grizzly bear. 869

### The Cultural Role

The descriptions above are deficient in at least one respect. They 182
convey no dependable notion of the significance of each concept in 771
relation to the rest of the culture, or the degree to which the concept molds and influences daily life. There are clues, it is true. The Kutenai and the Sanpoil require universal participation of males in the quest whereas but few of the Lower Carrier take part, many of whom at least partially fail. On the other hand, the dramatic nature of the Carrier quest is impressive, but the venture occupies only a month or a year of a man's life.

Upon first contact with the Sanpoil I was deeply impressed both by the intensity of the role played by the guardian spirit and by the extent to which it influenced the culture. Naturally I was uncertain whether this impression was the result of a relatively greater emphasis by the Sanpoil, or merely reflected my own ignorance of Plateau culture. The latter might well have been the case, but after long contact with Plateau peoples I feel more strongly than ever that the group of cultures typified by the Sanpoil represent the high point of the area in this respect. In another place I have expressed my convictions as follows:

> Perhaps nowhere in America did the guardian spirit concept play so great a role in the lives of a people as among the Salishan groups of the [American] Plateau. . . . Not only was the guardian spirit idea highly developed here as a formal religious complex in which very nearly every man participated, but that participation was no passive acquiescence to cultural tradition. It was rather an intense identification highly charged with emotional content. . . . Here spirits were ever present. A man and his tutelary led parallel existences; the one had only to reach out, so to speak, and draw the other to him when the occasion made unitary action or cooperation desirable. The power inherent in the guardian spirit was not, in other words, a talent once conferred and thereafter effective, or a vague store of energy to be drawn upon when needed; but rather a highly specific relationship with a powerful ally available for personal action in any exigency. . . .
>
> In everyday life this intimacy of relationship was reflected in countless references to one's own or another's tutelary, and in the invariable explanation

182 771 of all unusual, impressive, or significant occurrences in terms of spirit power. Reference to one's own spirit was never specific, however, but always couched in vague or generic terms: 'my power,' 'my helper,' or, in colloquial English, 'my partner.' This last expression, heard constantly among these peoples even today, reflects most accurately the native attitude toward spirit power.[10]

This domination of life by spirit matters occurs with roughly equal intensity among the Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Kalispel, and Columbia. Emphasis is only slightly lighter among the Lakes, Spokane, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Wenatchi, and Kittitas, the last a Sahaptin group. Other Sahaptin peoples give markedly less attention to spirit matters but I cannot escape the conviction that this difference is of slight age and the direct result of Plains influence. All Sahaptin peoples share the extended Winter Spirit Dance with the Salish groups mentioned above.

In contrast, the interior Salish of British Columbia (exclusively) lack the Winter Spirit Dance entirely and emphasize the spirit quest and spirit causation more as formal ritual than as deep emotional ideology. For example, spirit intrusion and spirit loss as causes of illness are hardly present here, whereas to the south they are of momentous importance (see below). The period of absence on each spirit quest was considerably longer here than in the American Plateau, but this cannot be used as a criterion. The accumulated time after long repeated one-night quests might easily overbalance that of a single extended quest. The longest quests are found among the Lillooet where the duration may reach a year. Yet few persons engage in the quest and the whole concept plays a definitely minor role. The lengthening of the quest, both in this and in less extreme cases, is clearly the result of formalization and ritual emphasis, not religious intensity. The quest practice here of vigorously rubbing the body with conifer twigs might be interpreted as indicative of spiritual fervor if it were not that the custom is clearly borrowed from the Coast and that the identical explanation—ritual cleanliness—is given for its observance. The same applies to induced vomiting.

The Chilcotin present no problem in this respect. Spirit concepts are clearly of secondary importance in their lives. Their practices lie intermediately between those of the Lillooet and the Carrier. The spirit pattern of the Carrier, while dramatic, does not for a moment contest

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[10] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 593 f.

with that of central and southern Plateau groups. An observation by 182
Jenness is to the point: 771

> Nevertheless, [Carrier] dreams were so erratic, visitations from the animal world so ungovernable, that no Indian hunter cared to stake all his fortunes upon them. He believed that in ancient days the animals themselves had delivered to him a powerful weapon by disclosing certain "medicines" and rituals that would deliver the game into his hands.[11]

(The latter belief is unknown to the south.)

One last example may illuminate the judgements above. Olson writes, "Nothing bulked larger in Quinault life than the acquisition and control of supernatural power."[12] Now it is certain that the Lower Chinook gave spiritual power greater emphasis than did the Quinault. Further, the Chinook

> quest differed very slightly from that of the Plateau. Even though an interior group as far distant as the Kalispel of northern Idaho be taken for comparison, the quest exhibits no significant difference; while even minor details are impressively similar.[13]

Yet it would never occur to me to equate the *functional intensity* of the Chinook concept and that of the Kalispel, the former is so much the slighter.

### CONCEPTUAL FACTORS

For introduction I may refer to the quotation above in which the 776
role of the spirit guardian and helper is discussed and the colloquialism 787
"my partner" is mentioned.

The expression "my power" is also frequently heard among the English speaking natives of the central Plateau. The two terms "partner" and "power" seem to be used interchangeably. On the other hand the natives seldom or never speak of "spirits" or of "spirit power." Nor do they say "partner power." These English speaking habits have led to considerable confusion and have obscured the point made above. Cline, for example, states of the Southern Okanogan that "One's guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or mountains, and came to him when he thought of it or needed its aid," a formulation corresponding exactly to that given above. But he also says,

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[11] Jenness, *op. cit.*

[12] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 141.

[13] Ray, *Historical Position*, p. 370.

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> Though one's power was something quite distinct from his soul, the Okanagon believed, in a vague way, that it resided inside him, perhaps in his chest or in his heart. . . . The "spirit" was perhaps the guardian spirit in animal or other guise, as opposed to the formless potency which one had obtained from it and which abided within him.[14]

Do the Southern Okanogan really make this unusual distinction? The answer may be sought in the terminology of the native language. The term su·mi'x (Southern Okanogan) is used, with dialectical variations, throughout the region as the sole term for the designation of the guardian spirit or the power associated with the spirit. In the translation of native texts the interpreter sometimes translates su·mi'x as "power," sometimes as "partner," and when he learns the ethnologist's term spirit, he adds that to the variants. But to the naïve informant the term spirit usually, if not always, calls up the notion of ghost or soul rather than guardian. But I have never encountered the slightest conceptual confusion between guardian spirit and soul anywhere in the Plateau. Spier states of the Klamath, "Souls and ghosts are separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits."[15] The Sanpoil, like certain other Plateau groups, locate the soul near the heart or thereabouts, but nowhere in the entire area is the spirit conceived as residing in the body. Even among the Kutenai, where the spirit enters the body during the vision, it immediately leaves and must be called back when needed. Therefore it appears certain that Cline is confusing informants' statements regarding the soul and the spirit, when, in the statements above, he distinguishes between spirit and power and localizes the latter in the body.[16]

This is not to deny that distinctions between spirit and power exist in parts of the Plateau, or that power or talents are not conferred which are effective without constant spirit presence. The Klamath do not receive guardians that serve as familiars, but merely derive abiding power from a supernatural experience involving a spirit. Spier observes that

> The Klamath concept apparently holds for all tribes of the Pacific coast. There does not appear anywhere the Plains type of quest for particular sanctions. The spirits of the experiences are not guardians, they are not invoked (save by shamans), and they give continuing powers to perform the arts or professions or for success and wealth.[17]

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[14] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 133.
[15] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 100.
[16] The distinction between soul and spirit is further discussed below.
[17] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 250.

The specific sanction is unknown even to the Plains-like Kutenai or 776
Flathead. But the generalization concerning invoked guardians does not 787
hold for a great part of the Plateau. Specific and necessary invocation is practiced by the Tenino, Umatilla, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead; the Kutenai, Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan (see above); and the Shuswap. Among the Carrier the spirit reappears throughout life in dreams. In the other groups the spirit is recalled in a formalized manner, often by singing. Among the Lillooet, Thompson, and Chilcotin the notion seems to be more that of continuing talents. The latter have undoubtedly been influenced by the Coast. Four distinct patterns emerge: sanctions, limited to the Plains; inherent power, typical of the Coast and penetrating to the Klamath; volitional dreams, perhaps typical of the Mackenzie Basin; and invocation of ever-present spirits, unquestionably typical of the Plateau.

A related matter demands consideration. The Plateau notion is not that spirits cannot be identified with man or enter man's body; but rather that such identification or intrusion is unusual, the common condition being that of separate existences. Intrusion during the vision appears unique to the Kutenai, though the hypnotism or unconsciousness accompanying visions of the Tenino, Klikitat, and Umatilla may be the result of intrusion or possession. More probably, however, it is the strength of the power that causes the reaction. These groups, far removed from the Kutenai, are contiguous and open to influences from the Coast where violent reactions are thus interpreted.

Intrusion of another's spirit is recognized as a definite cause of dis- 753
ease by the Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, 776
Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, and Lower Thompson. To the north of the Thompson the spirit is the agent causing the intrusion of an object. This is exactly the Klamath notion. The intrusive spirit, then, uniformly characterizes the central and southern Plateau, except the Klamath. It may be considered typical of the Plateau, though not exclusive to it. The Chinook share the concept, possibly borrowed from the Klikitat or Wishram, but it is not known among the Quinault, the Tillamook, or coastal tribes to the south.[18]

A further type of spirit intrusion or possession is that occurring 776
upon the return of the spirit at maturity after an absence following 787

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[18] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 244; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 122; Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 141 ff.; Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, pp. 188–91.

776 acquisition. This appears to have been a local development among the
787 Sanpoil, Kalispel, and perhaps the Southern Okanogan.[19] The spirit possesses the person, must be removed and "brought under control" by a shaman, then rubbed back onto the person to reëstablish the relationship but not to remain there. This procedure is undoubtedly related to the Thompson and Lillooet practice of rubbing on a spirit retrieved after being lost and the Kittitas and Wenatchi custom in which a shaman may seize a wandering spirit and rub it into one of his sons.

The identification which forms the basis of the Bluejay complex[20] constitutes a final significant example of coincidence of man and spirit.

### Objective Elements

From conceptual factors we may turn to certain features of somewhat greater objectivity for further historic perspective. The duration of the quest has been mentioned above. One night vigils characterize the south central Plateau (Tenino, Wishram, Umatilla, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel) and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Klamath vigils continue for five days; this may be due to coastal influence. In the Canadian Plateau extended quests are the rule with durations as follow: Kutenai, one to seven days; Shuswap, three days plus; Thompson, four to eight days; Lillooet, two days to one year; Chilcotin, four days; Carrier, each day for thirty days. Extended quests are occasionally observed by the Umatilla and more often by the Kalispel. These data fall into three patterns: one night for the south central Plateau; several days for the Canadian Plateau and margins of the southern area; and consecutive daily vigils for a definite period, the Carrier form.[21]

756 The association of the spirit quest with a formal training period for
787 youths, or puberty observances, is found in the southern area of the
869 Canadian Plateau, but not beyond. The general type is described by
881 Teit for the Thompson[22] but it is the Lillooet who carry it to the
extreme in duration. The combined spirit-seeking and training for the profession of shaman requires eight to nine years, during which only frequent visits home are made. The training includes sleeping in a

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[19] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 142.

[20] See below; see Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 138; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 248; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 588; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 318.

[22] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 317–21.

sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging 756
with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic 787
treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief 869
visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates 881

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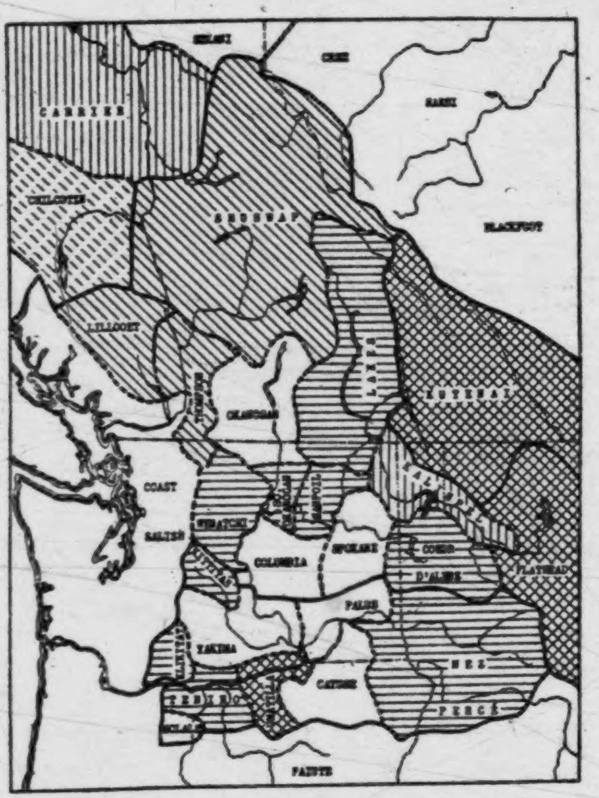
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COEUR D'ALENE
FLATHEAD
COLUMBIA
KITTITAS
PALUS
YAKIMA
NEZ PERCE
CAYUSE
TENINO
MOLALA
PAIUTE

Map 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the [171] training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

756 appears to be a local development much influenced by Coast ritualism.

787 The age at which a guardian spirit may be acquired varies consider-
869 ably through the Plateau. Several patterns may be isolated: pre-puberty
881 (minimum age, six to ten years); puberty (range of two or three
171 years); post-puberty (terminated by maturity); and middle age. A
practice limited to the Southern Okanogan admits children of three to six years to the quest. In no group may elderly persons hope for success. The periods are not in all cases mutually exclusive. Another aspect which must be considered is the recognition of one period or circumstance as more favorable than another. Two categories are prominent: puberty and periods of crises. Data are scarce on the latter point and little can be added to Spier's discussion, except that recognition of crises as significant by the Klamath appears unique in the American Plateau.[23]

The pre-puberty quest as the exclusive form is noted for the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi ("virgins only"), Southern Okanogan ("almost always"), Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé (?),[24] that is, the south central area. Those recognizing pre-puberty as the principal or most favorable period, but not wholly excluding later quests, include the Klamath, Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai, all marginal groups. The Canadian Salish constitute a third distinct group, in which puberty is the initial and most favorable time but later quests are not infrequent. Only among the Chilcotin is a premium placed upon middle age as a time for acquiring power. This is undoubtedly linked with the prolonged dreaming of the Carrier.

776 Throughout the Plateau a wide range of spirits serve as guardians. The Chilcotin share this trait to a limited degree but the Carrier do not. Regional specialization is to be seen, however. Inanimate objects play an important role only among the Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, and possibly Lillooet, a continuous distribution undoubtedly representing local elaboration of a more widespread notion.[25] The occurrence of mythological beings as guardian spirits forms an interesting distribution, for the source of the concept is unquestionably the Coast, where it is often the type. The instances are all on the Columbia River,

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[23] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 94.

[24] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 239; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 137; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 248–50.

[25] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 238; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 76 f.

or tributaries, which clearly indicates the route of diffusion: Wishram, 776
Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Southern Okanogan, and Coeur d'Alêne.[26] The distribution of dwarfs as tutelaries is identical (except possibly for the Southern Okanogan) but hardly coincidental. My data bear out Park's observation that a belief in dwarfs is more widespread than their occurrence as guardians.[27] In addition to the group mentioned above, dwarfs are known to the Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Flathead, Shuswap, and Carrier.

Spirits whose normal form is anthropomorphic are infrequent except for the dwarfs. But not only anthropomorphic but human spirits are declared to be recognized by the Thompson and, by implication, the Shuswap.[28] But the guise in which spirits appear to human beings is uniformly anthropomorphic among all Plateau peoples with the following exceptions. The marginal Kutenai and the Kalispel recognize both animal and human guise while the Carrier and Chilcotin spirits appear only in animal or half-human form. The animal guise may be typical of the Mackenzie area; it is specifically the Sekani pattern. But it is probably more widespread, especially southward into the Plains.[29] This would explain the Kalispel-Kutenai compromise. Since the dominant spirits of the Coast, mythological beings, are fundamentally anthropomorphic in form, the Plateau stands out as a unit in recognizing animal spirits which assume anthropomorphic form in contact with man.

Park treats as one the concepts of power derived from ghosts 775
and that derived from spirits of dead relatives.[30] This is not justified in 776
the Plateau. A brief digression is necessary to explain.

During life, the guardian spirit and its possessor are clearly distinguished as two distinct entities; this has been pointed out above. A third entity, the soul, is conceptually distinct from these two and materially distinct from the spirit; indeed, wholly unrelated to it. On the other hand, the soul is inextricably linked with the material human body in a physical way; it is the animating force in the body. Separation of the two entails immediate death or serious illness followed by death if

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[26] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 245; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 236 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 135 f.

[27] Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 78 f.

[28] Contrary to Park (*Shamanism*, p. 77); Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 354; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 605.

[29] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 68–70; Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, pp. 12 ff.

[30] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 79.

775 the two are not soon reunited. The soul is conceived as being located
776 somewhere within the body; the Sanpoil localize it near the heart but it is not identified with that organ; the Canadian Salish believe it to be situated in the head.

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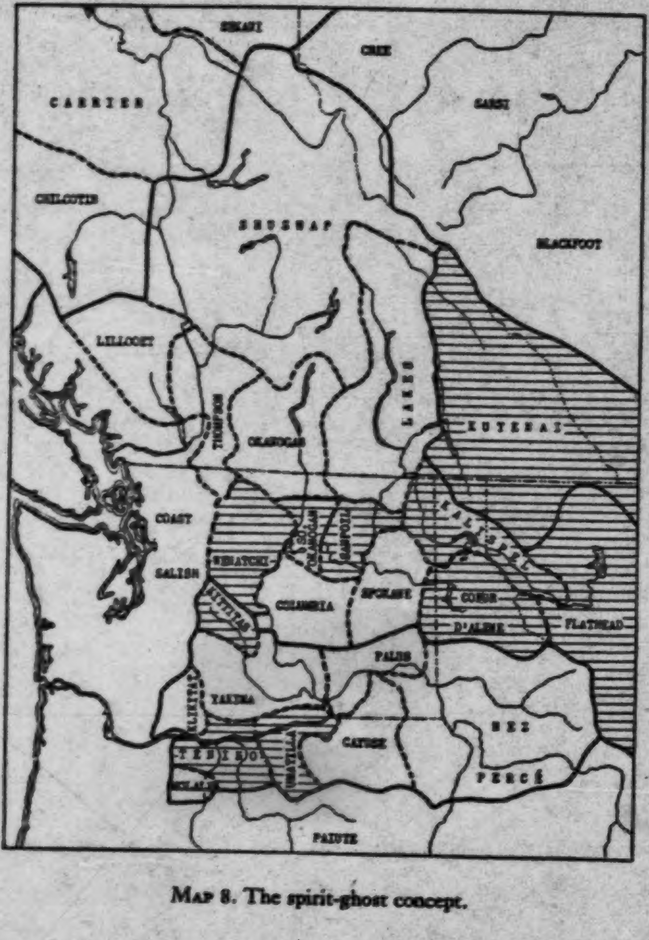
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FLATHEAD
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YAKIMA
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PERCÉ
TENINO
UMATILLA
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MOLALA
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Map 8. The spirit-ghost concept.

775 Now upon death the soul and body are separated. The body disinte-
776 grates, ceases to exist; but the soul becomes transformed into the ghost (unless it immediately goes to the land of the dead) and continues to exist. Its form may be pseudo-anthropomorphic or, at the other extreme, flame-like or bone-like.

At the same time any one of several things may happen to the 775
guardian spirit which the deceased possessed. It may return to its 776
genus; it may disappear; or it may become non-existent. Each of these alternatives is found in western America. But there is still another possibility: the guardian spirit may "die" likewise and become transformed into a ghost—a "spirit-ghost." This is exactly what happens among some peoples of the Plateau. To them it is inconceivable that an entity so intimately associated with man as his guardian spirit should not undergo a major transformation upon his death. As suggested, this transformation follows the pattern of the soul: the soul becomes the ghost; the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. It is not felt that the "soul" of the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. Since the guardian spirit is an ethereal rather than a material entity, transformation may be direct; a "spirit-soul" concept is not a logical necessity. The change from guardian spirit to spirit-ghost is nevertheless equally as radical as that from soul to ghost. Regardless of the original identity of the spirit, its after-death form is anthropomorphic.

This type picture is derived from the Sanpoil, but is modified to present a fairly general idea of the concept throughout the area. The concept is known to be present among the Kittitas, Umatilla, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kutenai, and probably Tenino (absent: Klikitat).[31] The center is clearly the Sanpoil-Southern Okanogan; outward from here the concept fades in complexity and integration. (The spirit-ghost, as a source of power, is further discussed below in connection with the inheritance of spirits.)

We may now return to the question of power derived from ghosts. First of all, it is obvious, in the light of the above facts, that power from ghosts is a very different thing from power derived from the spirits of dead relatives. In the former case the transformed soul, the *human ghost*, would serve as a *spirit;* in the latter instance the *non-human guardian spirit* or *non-human spirit-ghost* would serve as *a spirit.*

As a matter of fact, nowhere in the Plateau is there an unequivocal 756
case of spiritual power derived from the ghosts of human beings. It is 775
true that the Lillooet shamanistic aspirant keeps about him the bones 776
of dead men but these are merely symbolic of his control over death and ability to visit the land of the dead. The Carrier suppliant may sleep at a cremation place for the same reason, or even to learn by occult

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[31] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 173–76; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 153 f.

756 775 776 means the secrets of dead shamans. But even here the shaman's ghost does not become his guardian nor supply him with spiritual power. Teit states that

> among the Lower Thompsons a shaman who desired to obtain a dead person for his guardian spirit placed a skull in front of his private sweat-house, and danced and sang around it. . . . He sang and prayed to the soul of the deceased person to whom the skull belonged to impart to him the desired knowledge.[22]

Dancing around the skull is typical procedure for the purposes indicated above; valuable *knowledge* quite distinct from *spiritual power* may be obtained by singing and praying as indicated. But I could get no corroboration from the Lower Thompson for the ghost as a spirit. Furthermore, when Teit lists specified shamanistic spirits he mentions many *objects* connected with death, all of which fit perfectly into the pattern: lodge and poles at grave, heaps of rocks at graves, dead man's hair, bones, and teeth; also the land of the dead. Teit speaks in a similar vein of Lillooet beliefs.[23] There is a further possible explanation for this apparent aberration. It may be that the spirit-ghost is confused with the human ghost. Spirit-ghosts and ghosts are not always distinguishable in their ethereal forms. There is undoubtedly often confusion in the minds of natives as to whether the figure in a particular anecdote is a soul-ghost or a spirit-ghost.[24]

776 Among most Plateau groups vague distinctions are made between stronger and weaker spirits, safe and dangerous ones. But nowhere are these distinctions consistent even from one group to the next. True specialization of spirits, on the other hand, is specific in distribution and clear in conception. At one extreme is the belief that a particular spirit invariably conveys a particular type of power; at the other, any spirit is capable of conferring any type of power, strength permitting. Again we find the south central Plateau forming a unit, with belief in non-specialization (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel; also Flathead). Groups recognizing specialization in some cases, or modified specialization, are marginal to the above (Klamath, Wishram, Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé, Southern Okanogan).[25] Among the Salish to the north a more rigid specialization is the

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[22] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 354.

[23] Teit, *loc. cit.*; Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 287.

[24] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 174; see below.

[25] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 103, 122 f.; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*,

776 rule, but it is weaker among the Shuswap than others. This may be due to contact with the Carrier, where the question is hardly a pertinent one (see above), but specialization is not characteristic. The Kutenai stand alone in assuming that spirits are specialized and yet that a man may obtain only one.

Since particularized powers characterize the Coast it seems obvious that we are dealing with but two centers, the Coast and the south central Plateau. Coastal influences up the Fraser Valley may well account for the specialization there, while less direct trans-Cascade diffusion plus marginal variation may be inferred in the other cases. This assumes that *non-specialization* is a positive element. I think this must be granted; it is obvious when expressed correctly but awkwardly, "Any spirit may grant any power." Specialization of spirits must not be confused with the granting of specialized talents, a universal feature in the Plateau.

776 787 Not unrelated to the above is intentional search for a specific spirit, or any of a group of spirits conferring similar power. One might surmise that the intentional search would be coextensive with specialized spirits. This is exactly the case at the extremes. Groups with modified specialization align with those lacking it: quest objectives are indefinite. In speaking of definite objectives as lacking it is not implied that blessings of a general nature—good luck, health, wealth—are not sought and expected.[36] This brings into relief an aspect of the spirit concept often overlooked. Favors of two kinds are invariably conveyed throughout the Plateau: general good fortune and a specific talent. It is the latter which may or may not be specialized according to spirit identity. One further note: in the area where specific objectives are absent, they are only *formally* lacking. The youth undoubtedly harbors secret desires in many cases. Indeed, this surely accounts for the specific nature of many a vision.

424 776 The inheritance of spirits is a knotty problem since the interpretations of inheritance are numerous. A spirit may be strictly hereditary in the lineage, perhaps unilaterally. This system prevails on the Coast north of the Quinault, resulting in some cases in "spirit quests" that are merely empty forms for ritualistic purposes.[37] Heredity of this

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p. 237; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, p. 86; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 133 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 249.

[36] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95.

[37] E.g., Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies*, pp. 503 ff.

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776
kind is unknown in the Plateau. But frequently a man instructs one of his spirits to appear to his son or presents the boy with a symbol which will aid in obtaining a specific spirit. This is not merely a vague reflection of the coastal pattern of heredity, for in the latter case, at least,

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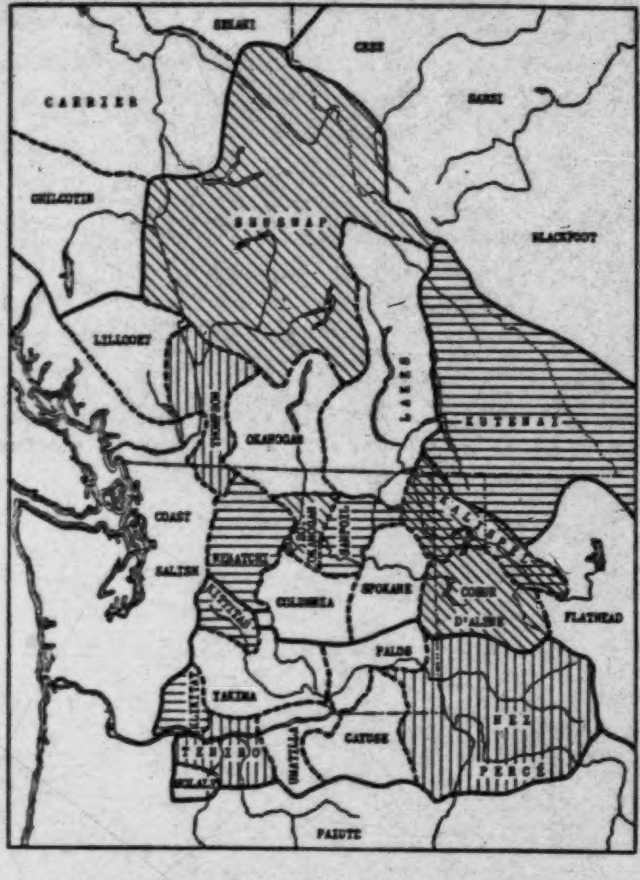
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YAKIMA
TENINO
UMATILLA
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MOLALA
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MAP 9. Inheritance of guardian spirits. *Vertical hatching:* true inheritance; *horizontal hatching:* upon instruction only; *diagonal hatching:* transference by use of symbol.

the father often selects a symbol unrepresentative of any of his own spirits. Furthermore, an unrelated person, an elderly shaman or merely a proctor, may send out his spirit to be found or may provide the symbol. The pattern of so instructing one's own spirit typifies the south

central area (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Kutenai). 424
It is lacking for the Klamath, Wishram (?), Southern Okanogan, 776
Flathead, and Canadian Plateau. The distribution is mutually exclusive of that of transmission by means of a symbol (Southern Okanogan,[38] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Shuswap; not Lillooet, Flathead) except for the Kalispel where the practices seem to reflect amalgamation. Neither of these concepts appears typical of any adjacent area; they may, therefore be considered local developments with the Canadian-American areas once more contrasted in specific trait identity though the continuity of distribution argues for a general relation of the two concepts.

Certain of the groups lacking both traits do, nevertheless, possess a more specific notion of inheritance. These are the very ones most intimately associated with the Coast (Klamath, Tenino, Thompson), plus the Nez Percé, the "Plains tribe" which shows upon close analysis many coastal features undoubtedly received via the Columbia-Snake route. Among the Tenino, according to Murdock, "guardian spirits are transmitted by a parent of either sex to an own child of either sex —but by or to no one else—at the winter shamanistic performances."[39] The absence of heredity among the Wishram may actually represent only absence of data. Altogether these cases support Spier's contention that even minimal reflection of true inheritance points to a coastal origin.[40]

And yet the case is not closed. All the southern examples, with the 424
exception of the Tenino, may actually involve the spirit-ghost concept. 775
The fundamentals of this idea were given above. When a man possessing 776
a guardian spirit dies, not only does his soul become a ghost, but his guardian spirit may undergo a similar transformation and become a spirit-ghost. The spirit-ghost lacks almost completely its former characteristics; even its generic name is dropped. Instead it refers to itself (in communion with man) by the term for spirit-ghost or a *relationship term designating the person who before death possessed it*. The spirit-ghost, *in the guise of the deceased*, appears to a person in a dream or vision and seeks acceptance as a secondary power. That person is usually but not invariably a relative. This commonly happens within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost speaks to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father (or friend). I

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[38] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 137 f.

[39] Murdock, personal correspondence.

[40] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 247–49.

424 want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me.
775 I'm lost now and I want you for my partner." The one addressed is not
776 privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. Acceptance, too, involves unavoidable illness unless one's former power be greater than that which he is to receive from the spirit-ghost. The illness is similar to that caused by the first return of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. A shaman must be called, who removes the spirit-ghost, brings it under control, and returns it to the patient. Thereafter its power is available for use in much the same manner as ordinary spirit power.[41]

It seems highly probable that some, at least, of the cases of "inheritance" are actually of this order. This pattern, slightly modified, fits Klamath inheritance perfectly. The Klamath shaman's "spirits and clairvoyant powers are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them."[42]

To a slight extent the Shuswap share the belief and it is entirely possible that Teit's statements concerning power derived from ghosts is the result of the confusion of the soul-ghost and the spirit-ghost. The Chilcotin lack the concept, as do the Carrier. But among the latter a shaman may sometimes effect the transfer of a spirit from a father to his son.

The spirit-ghost notion indeed involves inheritance and may be built upon a generalized concept borrowed from the Coast. But it is certainly cast in a Plateau mold and centers well to the interior. It is surely significant that the transfer is not always to a relative (Kalispel, Kutenai) and that it may be "given" by the patient to the attending shaman or wholly discarded (Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan,[43] Sanpoil).

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787 One of the profoundest points of distinction in the spirit concept is the mode of reception, whether by true vision, or dream, or a combination of the two. I have pointed out above that the experience may take place in a half-waking (or half-sleeping) state and yet be culturally classified as definitely dream, or definitely vision. Since the problem

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[41] Description based on the Sanpoil pattern; among certain other groups the illness is less severe or absent.

[42] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 97.

[43] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 153.

here is rather more historical than psychological, the classification of 776
the native will be used regardless of other factors. Spier and Park have 777
tackled this problem for regions to the south.[44] The data here will merely provide a northern extension. Among the Umatilla, not far

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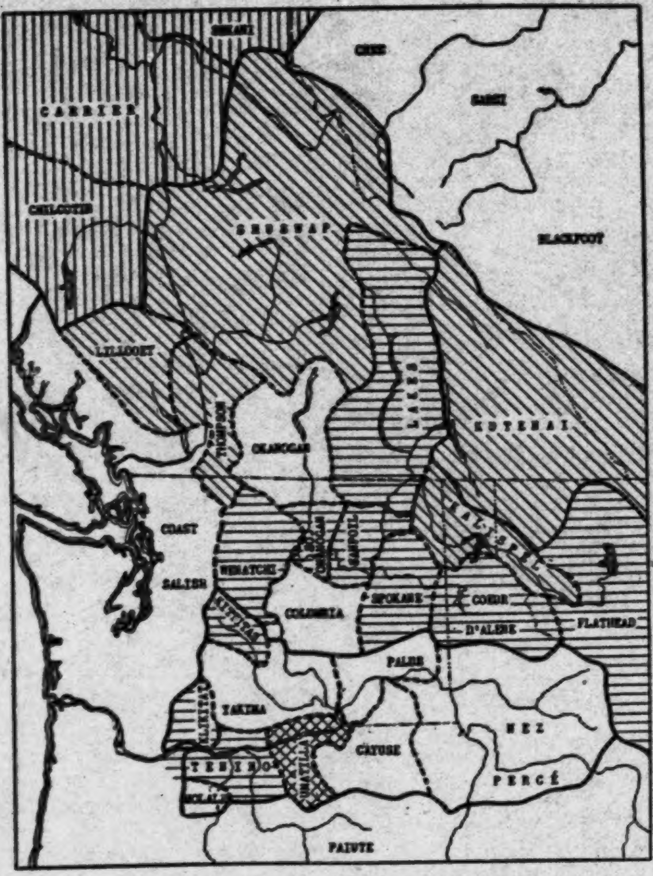
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Map 10. Types of quest experience. *Horizontal hatching:* vision only; *diagonal hatching*: vision, induced dream; *vertical hatching:* voluntary dream; *cross hatching:* vision, dream (involuntary?).

north of the Klamath, the pattern of the latter is maintained. That is, both the vision and dream are present. It is not certain that the particular phrasing is that of the Klamath, a quest followed by a dream

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[44] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 250 ff.; Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 108 ff.

776 upon return. In the south central Plateau the vision is exclusively found
787 (Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead).[45] In the Canadian Plateau the presence of both dream and vision is encountered once more (Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet). This recurrence becomes intelligible when the Athabascan pattern is examined. The dream is exclusive for the Carrier and typical if not exclusive for the Chilcotin and Sekani.[46] The dream in the north, however, is not the involuntary dream of California, the Southwest, and the Klamath (also Umatilla ?) but a dream induced by highly formal means (see above). The involuntary dream conferring spirit-ghost power in the American Plateau has been confused with the spirit dream.[47] It is conceivable, but doubtful, that involuntary dreaming, as a separable pattern, indicates southern connections. It must not be forgotten that involuntary dreaming is a human biological pattern. The voluntary, i.e., induced, dream among the Athabascans must be interpreted as a distinctive Mackenzie trait; it is not a Plains element (though a markedly formalized exception appears with the Dakota[48]).

### SHAMAN VERSUS LAYMAN

756 An informative aspect of the spirit concept is the distinction drawn
776 between shaman and layman. Of course, where specialized spirits are
787 recognized, certain ones being reserved for shamans, the distinction is automatically made. But it is pertinent to ask whether this is the only distinction or if other factors may play a role. Regardless of the tutelaries, is the quest identical for shaman and layman? The answer is positive for the entire Plateau excepting the Lillooet. Among the latter the shaman's quest is of markedly greater duration, activities differ, and shamanistic sponsorship is necessary (see above). There is the slightest suggestion of specialized activities among the Shuswap and Thompson; while the other two aspects of Lillooet practice, duration and sponsorship, point toward the Carrier. In this matter the Carrier affiliate with the Mackenzie area, or at least not with the Plateau. A

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[45] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 139; Murdock, personal correspondence: "My own data are definitely negative on the dream in the spirit quest; the experience was strongly alleged to be a true waking experience (vision) and in no respect a dream or dreamlike, nor was there a dream upon return; Tenino dreams, I believe, are almost exclusively prophetic."

[46] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 68 ff.

[47] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 111.

[48] Wissler, *Societies and Ceremonial Associations*, p. 81.

further question: Is the vision type identical for shaman and layman? 756
An affirmative answer here finds no exception but the Carrier, where 776
the difference is marked (see above). A further common feature is the 787
possession of greater power by the shaman. But this does not necessarily imply the possession of a greater number of spirits. However, the only exceptions are the Kalispel and Coeur d'Alêne, adjacent groups.

In this connection a statement made by Park requires attention:

> Throughout most of the Plateau area, the shaman is set off from other members of the group *simply* as the one who has greater but *not different* power. . . . The shaman is differentiated largely by the amount of power that he possesses and the curative results which he is *thereby* enabled to obtain.[49]

This would apply to the Klamath, as Spier's specific statements indicate[50] but certainly not to any other Plateau group, the Carrier included. Indeed, actual conceptions are just the reverse of this. No matter how strong a man's power may be, no matter how many guardians he may possess, he is utterly incapable of performing as a shaman unless (1) he has received a definite shamanistic spirit, or (2) he has been specifically commissioned by the spirit at the time of the quest vision, or (3) he has received shamanistic power by heredity. This point can not be too strongly emphasized since an inference like that by Park is so readily drawn from a description of spirits as non-specialized. Park was at the further disadvantage of having available only meager material upon which to base his conclusion; his assumptions grew naturally out of these circumstances.

Accompanying non-specialization—the notion that any spirit is capable of conveying any type of power—is invariably the further belief that upon *particular* occasion a spirit always conveys a *particular* type of power.

Throughout the Plateau (Wishram to Flathead, Klamath to Carrier) 562
male shamans dominate numerically. But equally universally, women 756
are admitted to the profession and considered wholly equal to men in ability and strength. At the mouth of the Columbia, among the Lower Chinook, female shamans are as numerous as male. This is true of other coastal groups as well. In the Plains the male figures almost to the exclusion of the female.[51] The Plateau is obviously intermediate. The unity

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[49] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 92. Italics mine.

[50] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 107, 123.

[51] Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, p. 2.

562 756 of the area is clearly the result of participation by the various groups in a common tradition. But from an inter-areal point of view historical inference is hazardous since the possibilities are so limited. The intermediacy may be the result of the blending of the contrasting patterns of

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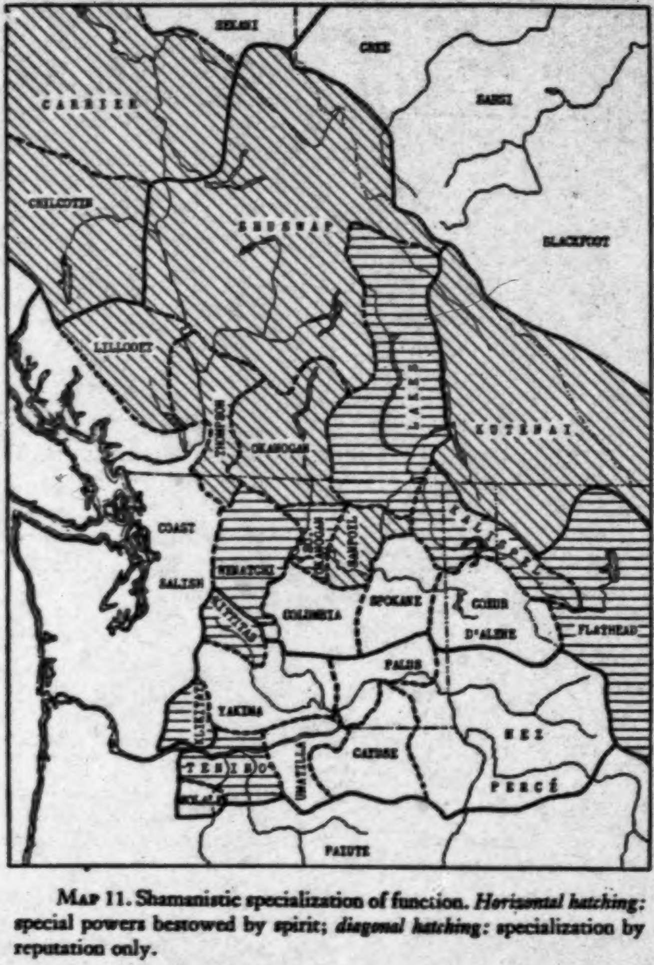
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MAP 11. Shamanistic specialization of function. *Horizontal hatching:* special powers bestowed by spirit; *diagonal hatching:* specialization by reputation only.

562 756 Coast and Plains; or, it may represent an independent development. The latter interpretation is favored by the fact that peripheral tribes of the Plateau do not lean toward the patterns of adjacent areas, but are one with the central tribes.

Shamanistic specialization of function may be divided into three categories. First, specific powers spiritually bestowed; that is, the guardian spirit of the shaman may specifically present him with the ability to cure certain types of disease with especial ease and certainty. This form of specialization is found among a block of peoples on the western border of the American Plateau (Southern Okanogan, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Tenino).[52] In all of these cases, except possibly the Tenino, specialization is supplementary to general practice. Again on the eastern border bestowed specialities appear (Kalispel, Flathead). The second type is specialization by reputation: this is the result of consistent success by a shaman in the treatment of a particular type of disease. It has nothing to do with a practitioner's spirit power as such; it is concerned with actual experience, a pragmatic concept. It is found throughout the Canadian Plateau, including the Chilcotin and Carrier, and minimally among the Sanpoil. The third category is specialization according to strength. Some types of ailment are more difficult to cure than others; stronger doctors are naturally required if success is to be achieved. These stronger shamans are the ones with many guardian spirits, or spirits with intrinsically superior power. Consequently, particular shamans are consistently called for ailments of the more serious type. This specialization according to shaman's strength is found more or less in all groups but especially among the Coeur d'Alêne, Shuswap, and Carrier. The Klamath, Wishram, and Umatilla do not recognize any type of specialization except the last.[53] The distributions in this case do not align as usual. Bestowed specialization quite probably links with the Coast on the west, but the eastern cases are uncertain. The Canadian unit stands out, but the American area is divided. Yet the wholly negative groups in the south are fairly continuous. 756

## CONCEPTS OF DISEASE

Plateau concepts of disease causation fall into clear-cut categories. The most common of these emphasizes the familiar idea of intrusion: a foreign element somehow gains entrance into the body and its presence causes illness. This general concept must be subdivided: the intrusive element may be a material object, such as a fragment of stone, a hair, a bit of bone, or an insect; or, in marked contrast, it may be another's 753

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[52] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 162 ff.; Park, *Shamanism*, p. 100.

[53] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 108, 123; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 244 ff.

753 guardian spirit that gains entrance. The latter case may be termed "intrusion of a foreign spirit" but it must be remembered that the spirit involved is invariably a guardian spirit; no spirits outside this category are given attention in the Plateau. Furthermore, the spirit is invariably

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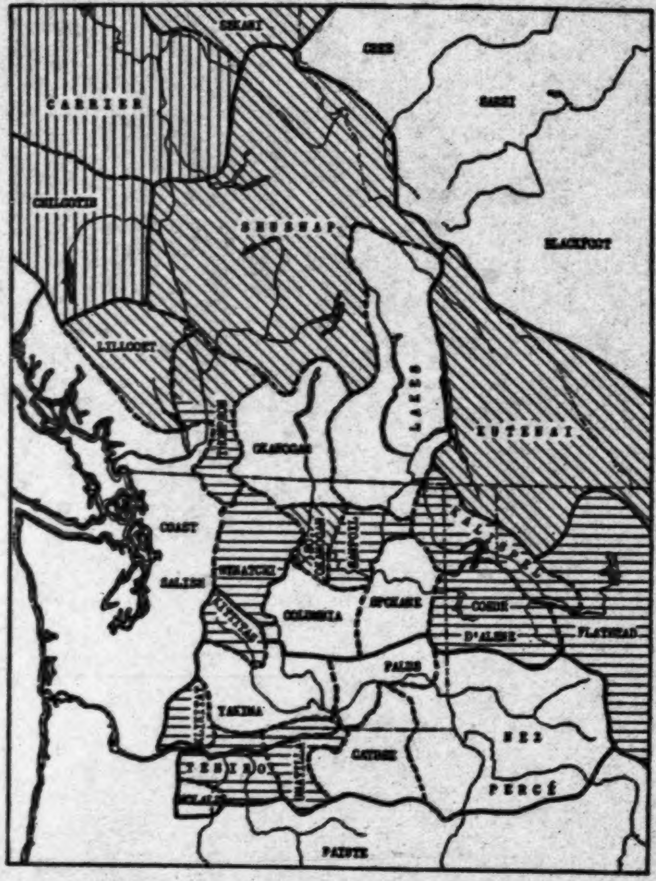
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Map 12. Disease by intrusion. *Vertical hatching:* intrusive object; *diagonal hatching:* spirit causes intrusion of object; *horizontal hatching:* intrusive object, intrusive spirit.

753 non-human in essence; it should not be confused with the human soul.

The *intrusive object* theory is widespread, encompassing the whole of the Plateau, and, of course, a vastly wider area. The more limited distribution of the *intrusive spirit* theory gives it greater significance for local relations and history. Its currency has been noted above; it characterizes the American Plateau but is absent to the north. The intrusion of the spirit is commonly, though not invariably, effected by a malignant shaman. Now in the same area there exists the further belief that the intrusion of objects is likewise the work of a shaman in most cases. But this view is not limited to the American Plateau; it is found throughout the area including even the Sekani in the north and possibly the Carrier and Chilcotin. It appears that we are dealing with: (1) an extremely widespread and old concept, intrusive objects, in no way distinguishing the Plateau;[54] (2) the notion of shamanistic ability to influence and control events in the material world by supernatural means, obviously as widespread as is shamanism itself; (3) the association of this talent and the intrusive object theory, again found everywhere in the Plateau, and extending beyond, but not to the degree of the first or second beliefs; (4) the substitution in this complex (3) of the spirit for the object, the spirit being equally subject to control and more effective since it possesses both power and volition. The last is limited to the American Plateau, as indicated above. No great step is involved in the substitution, since, in Plateau practice, the effective agent in object intrusion is always the power of the spirit as directed by the shaman. This identifies spirit intrusion as a typical Plateau trait, a local development probably relatively recent in origin.

The preceding argument runs counter to Clements' reconstructions.[55] It must immediately be noted that the complex which I have called spirit intrusion, for facility of expression, is not the simple element with which Clements is dealing. Even so, the assumptions conflict. "All occurrences [of spirit intrusion] are historically related,"[56] he declares, and nowhere does he suggest a relationship, for any area, between spirit intrusion and object intrusion. Furthermore, his own map and table show no instance of spirit intrusion for any part of the Plateau. Its presence is indicated for Puget Sound and coastal Washington on the basis of Klallam and Lower Chinook data alone. The Klallam information is precise. I have recently been able to substantiate the Lower Chinook case.[57] But Olson does not mention spirit intrusion for

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[54] Clements, *Primitive Concepts*, p. 210.

[55] *Idem*, pp. 216–25.

[56] *Idem*, p. 242.

[57] Clements bases his assumptions regarding the Chinook upon the free translation of a brief and equivocal segment of text from Boas (*Chinook Texts*, p. 207): "The spirits of the

753 the Quinault, nor Haeberlin for Puget Sound.[38] The nature of Chinook belief points to diffusion downriver from the Plateau,[39] and it should be added that the isolated Klallam case exactly duplicates Plateau belief.

A second important theory of disease causation held in the Plateau relates to one's own guardian spirit. The dominant form involves loss of the tutelary from one cause or another. These causes fall into three well recognized categories: (1) theft by a malignant shaman; (2) mere wandering away; and (3) desertion because of "mistreatment." The order is that of native emphasis based upon frequency of occurrence. Serious illness is caused by such loss, but proves fatal only after prolonged absence combined with consistent futility of shamanistic efforts to effect return.

In the Canadian Plateau the Lillooet and Lower Thompson appear to be the only groups sharing the guardian spirit loss notion. But to the south it is widespread (Southern Okanogan, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kittitas, Klikitat, Umatilla, Tenino, Wishram[40]) but does not reach the Klamath. Down the Columbia it is found as far as the Lower Chinook. Clearly the American Plateau is the center for this trait, with diffusion occurring to the northwest, and westward along the Columbia.

Intra-areal relations are shown in the incidence of sub-traits. The occurrence of the first, shamanistic theft, is coincidental with that of the general concept. The second, loss by inadvertant wandering, shows a spotty distribution: Lillooet, Kalispel, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Tenino. Deliberate desertion, the third aspect, spreads from northwest to southeast across the central Plateau: Lillooet, Kutenai, Kalispel, Flathead.

Another aspect of personal guardian spirit illness is that associated with the return of one's guardian spirit at maturity or at the time of the winter dance. Among tribes where the guardian spirit is absent from

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seers reach the soul of a sick person. They take it and lift it." The literal translation of the native text reads: "It is reached, his soul, a sick one's. It is taken, it is lifted" (*idem*, p. 198). But Clements quotes, in the same paper, a statement made by Boas at a later time which virtually contradicts Clements' interpretation of the Chinook extract. Boas says: "Belief in obsession is a most characteristic form of belief in the Old World. On the other hand, it seems quite foreign to the beliefs of American tribes. . . . The spirits may *attack* man but they do not *enter* his body" (quoted in Clements, *Primitive Concepts*, p. 188; italics mine).

[38] Olson, *Quinault Indians*; Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound*.

[39] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 78 ff.; Ray, *Historical Position*, pp. 370 f.

[40] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 244.

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the time of acquisition until maturity, the return is marked by a physical disturbance varying from a feeling of lonesomeness to a severe illness (see above). Sometimes this illness recurs at the opening of each dance season for several winters. Wherever this occurs an obvious link with

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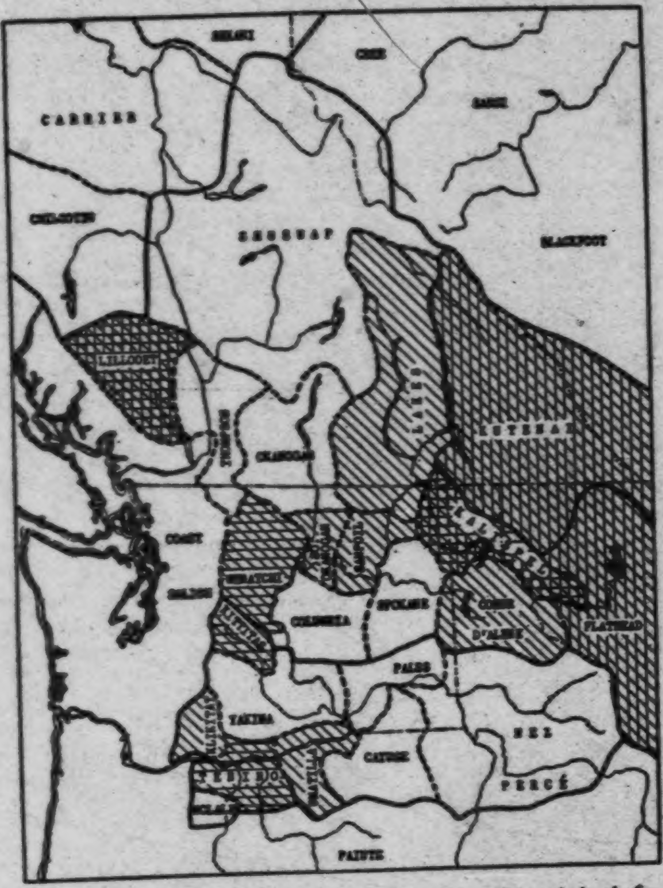
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MAP 13. Spirit loss illness. *Diagonal hatching:* shamanistic theft; *horizontal hatching:* desertion due to mistreatment; *vertical hatching:* loss by wandering away.

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the Coast is indicated, since there spirits are absent except during the winter season and each annual return is accompanied by physical reactions. The Plateau distribution of personal guardian spirit illness is beautifully illustrative of upriver influence along the Columbia. It oc-

753 curs with the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil.[61] The specific coastal pattern, illness each winter, does not extend as far upriver as might be anticipated. It is found among the Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, and probably Wishram.

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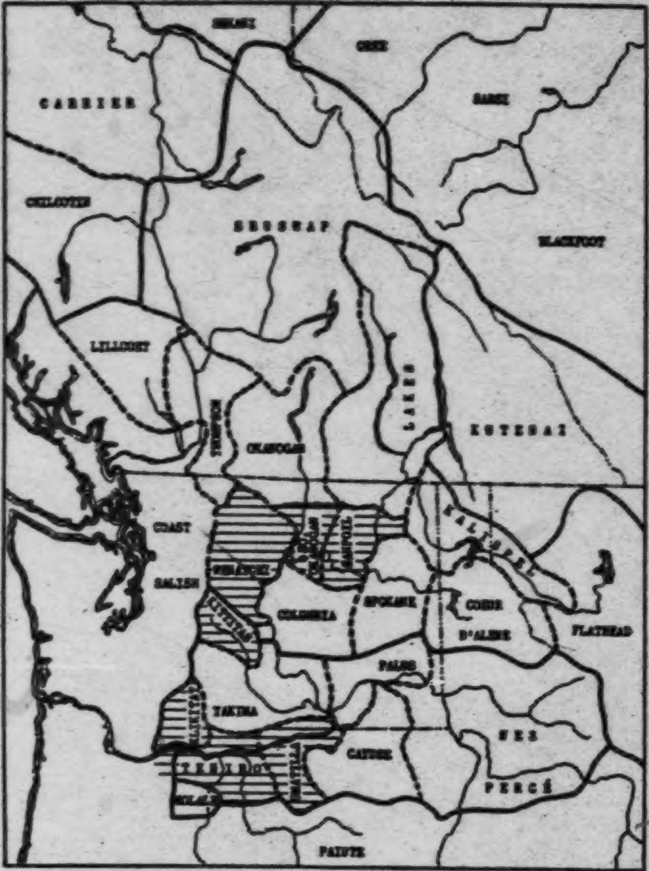
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MAP 14. Illness due to spirit return.

753 There is no evidence of a similar diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

Soul loss is the remaining major disease concept of the Plateau. This is the belief that the animating human soul may become temporarily de-

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[61] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 145.

tached from the physical body without death occurring immediately. 753
The accompanying illness is invariably serious—usually the most serious of any ailment—and death comes very soon if the soul is not recovered. Care should be taken not to confuse this concept with guardian

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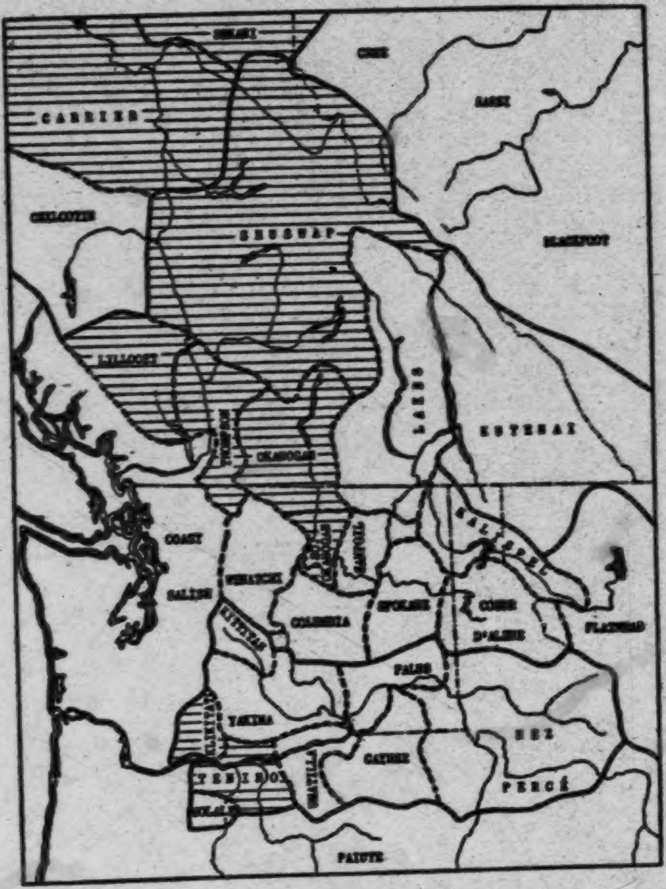
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Map 15. Soul loss.

spirit loss, discussed above. The loose usage of the two terms, spirit and soul, often leads to such confusion, with serious theoretical consequences. Clements falls into this error in his paper on disease concepts.[illegible] He attributes soul loss to the entire Plateau, which is far from the truth. 753

[illegible] Clements, *Primitive Concepts*, pp. 190–201, 225–40.

753 To repeat, the soul is the human animating force; the spirit is the nonhuman, extrinsic tutelary.

The soul loss disease concept is provocative in distribution and relationships. It is found generally among the Salish of the Canadian Plateau, and also among the Carrier and Sekani.[63] It is known to the Southern Okanogan in rather anomalous form.[64] But the Kutenai lack it, as do all other peoples of the southern area except the Tenino and Klikitat. These cases are easily explained. By their position and isolation their debt to the Coast is indicated. The northern block likewise derived their beliefs from the Coast with little doubt, but via the Fraser Valley. This statement is justified not only by the distribution but by the phrasing of the notion, which is typically coastal. But why, with streams of influence penetrating on both north and south, did the bulk of the American area remain so unequivocally free of it? Because the infiltration was very recent? It appears recent, but I do not believe this is the explanation, or at least the whole explanation. It is hardly mere coincidence that the distributions of soul loss and spirit loss are almost mutually exclusive. Further, where there is overlapping (in the north: Lower Thompson, Lillooet, Kalispel) there is marked confusion of the two ideas. It appears that in the Plateau the well-developed notion of spirit loss inhibited acceptance of the newer concept of soul loss, so closely parallel conceptually. "Why should we accept the distorted interpretations of foreigners; we already had the belief in true form!" This phrasing reflects very closely the reactions of natives to whom I have cautiously pointed out the concept of their coastal neighbors.

## THE WINTER SPIRIT DANCE

### Essential Characteristics and Inter-areal Relationships

535 The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance is the major religious ceremony
776 of the Plateau, dwarfing all other rituals by comparison.[65] It forms an
796 elaborate complex which is readily identifiable. It is a simple matter to ascertain its presence or absence for a particular group, so characteristic is the combination of elements. And yet those very elements, in their individual distributions, are highly variable and carry over first into one, and then another, adjacent area. The inter-areal relation-

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[63] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 72.

[64] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 163.

[65] See Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 189–200; cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 112–18, 266 f.

ship of these elements between the Plateau and the Plains is considered 535
in the next section. The principal concern here will be intra-Plateau 776
relationships together with certain coastal analogues. 796

As indicated, the Winter Dance complex does not fade out at the distributional borders but instead stops abruptly. Thus it is present among the Kalispel, absent among the Kutenai; observed by the Okanogan, unknown to the Thompson. Furthermore, the dance of the Klamath and that of a tribe as far distant as the Flathead show many similarities of detail as well as basic likeness. The principal features of the complex may be outlined as follows: recognition of mid-winter as the exclusive and proper period for guardian spirit ceremonialism; specific sponsorship by shaman or one possessing guardian spirit; participation open to all possessing spirits; attendance open to all; spirit singing with individual leadership; spirit dancing with individual leadership; power contests; shamanistic performances; specific duration of several days (usually determined by pattern number); held indoors; dancing at night; feast or presentation of gifts, or both. These are not presented as invariable criteria; indeed, several of the elements enumerated might be omitted without destroying the identity of the complex.

Certain of the features mentioned receive strong emphasis among all groups observing the dance. Spirit singing, dancing, and shamanistic performances are prominent among these. The singing of guardian spirit songs forms the very core of the ceremony, but dances invariably accompany the songs in the complex here observed. Shamanistic performances play a large role among some groups, but among others are of lesser significance. The Klamath dance has been called "The Shamanistic Performance,"[66] reflecting the importance of this aspect, but the Umatilla, not far distant, recognize the performances as but one among many features. Other less fundamental elements vary in like manner from tribe to tribe. But the surprising thing is that they are not more varied, as would be anticipated from other aspects of the cultures. It is this historical fixity upon which emphasis is here placed. The complex, to be sure, is made up of elements of ultimately diverse origin; it is not presented as a single organic unit.

### THE SPIRIT DANCE IN RELATION TO THE POTLATCH

Regardless of variant emphasis upon one or another element, the raison d'être of the Plateau dance is invariably clear and unblended. It

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[66] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 112.

535 is a spiritual ceremony pure and simple; the guardian spirit is the point
776 of reference from whatever aspect viewed. In contrast, the comparable
796 ceremony of the Quinault or Klallam of the Coast exhibits a dual basis,
both conceptually and historically. Spirit singing is combined and inte-
431 grated with the idea of the potlatch; the two cannot be treated separately. Thus, among the Klallam,

> A potlatch which is accompanied either with spirit singing or with a performance of the secret society is called l!a"anuk. This can take place either during the quiet-period or in the summer when the secret society ritual is held. At any of these potlatches there could be another performance of guardian spirit songs, in fact this is looked upon as one of the principal sources of entertainment [!]. If a man's wife or his son dances and sings during an evening's entertainment he will make gifts to all the men of the upper class who are present . . . to create good feeling and to display an individual's wealth.[67]

Of the Quinault we are told:

> In native theory an ordinary potlatch was in a way suggested by a man's guardian spirit. If a man had the "wealth spirit" the spirit would tell him "You had better throw (away) our money now. I (*i.e.*, the spirit) would like to see the people enjoy themselves and hear all the shamans sing their songs."[68]

These examples serve to place in clear relief the essential differences between the Winter Spirit Dance of the Plateau and the Spirit Singing-Potlatch of the Coast. The duality of purpose in the latter area is obvious. Furthermore, all of the following features of the Coast may differ from the Plateau: season, sponsorship, leadership of singing and dancing, nature of singing and dancing, power contests (absent), shamanistic performances (absent), and participation.

The historic diversity of the complexes of the Plateau and the Coast may be shown best by the case of the Lower Chinook. Here at the mouth of the Columbia River, where coastal and interior influences converge, both patterns are represented in clearly distinct forms.

The major religious ceremony is the guardian spirit dance. The time of the yearly dance is determined, to the native mind, by the period of spirit visitations, September until spring. Each dance occupies five days only, but many are held in various parts of Lower Chinook territory during the dance season. Dancers travel from one to another, other activities permitting. The dances are individually sponsored by persons with guardian spirit power. The uniform procedure (apart from initiation ritualism) consists of spirit singing and dancing by all of those possessing power. Shamanistic or power performances, though a part of the dance program, seem to be relatively unimportant.[69] In all details this pattern conforms to the outline for the Plateau. 431 535 776 796

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[67] Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, p. 306.

[68] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 124.

Lower Chinook "potlatches," which are held only in summer or fall, differ in sponsorship, motivation, and program, but emphasize spirit singing and dancing. Despite the differences, the question may arise:

> Why segregate these practices from the guardian spirit performances, since the most specialized feature was spirit singing and dancing? The answer is two-fold: First, the Chinook themselves made a distinction. They seemed to feel that this was a basic and generalized pattern of social activity into which might be fitted any specialized or distinctly categorized procedure. This framework was not essential to the integrity of certain specific practices; as a result the aspects were separable, producing a false impression of analogy. Thus the guardian spirit dance was distinctly fitted into the framework, so well fitted, indeed, that it had become virtually inseparable. But to call one a function or analogue of the other would do violence to native theory.[70]

Objective differences, which constitute the second factor, run fairly parallel to those enumerated above in analysis of Klallam and Quinault practices.

The almost invariable association of gift-giving with the Spirit Dance demands further consideration.[71] Can this be interpreted as an attenuated form of the potlatch? (If so, a "dual purpose" emerges for Plateau as well as Coast, and statements above are contradicted.) I have argued against such an assumption, even from the point of view of the Lower Chinook.

> There exists a real question as to whether it is justifiable to segregate under a separate term those practices having to do with feasting and gift-giving, especially when that term is one as fraught with meaning as the word potlatch. . . . All of the signification of the typical potlatch was absent [in Lower Chinook ceremonialism]. Presents were distributed but return was in no sense obligatory, to say nothing of return with interest. If the supply of

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[69] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 81–83

[70] *Idem*, p. 95; cf. Ray, *Historical Position*, pp. 368 ff.

[71] The Klamath may be the one exception: "One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others" (Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 115).

> 431 gifts were limited the upperclassmen were favored, but if there were plenty
> 535 all received share and share alike! . . . Wealth songs were wholly unknown.
> 776 Leadership in singing and dancing was limited to those with spirit power;
> 796 wealth or social status was no substitute. Ceremonial grouping was based on village affiliation, not wealth or lineage. Demonstration of superiority by the hosts and the shaming of guests was limited to such neutral demonstrations as grossness of appetite, and even here the hosts dared not go too far.[72]

Of the Quinault, Olson writes:

> Quinault potlatches stand about midway in the scale between the simple wealth displays of the south and the exaggerated and complicated ceremonials of the northern tribes. . . . The fundamental elements are the desire to gain a moderate amount of social prestige—the element of rivalry scarcely enters. The giving of goods is almost as much a privilege or an obligation as the occasion of display of vanity. The feasting and games bulk large in the picture. It is a festival, a "good time" period, with the words of the guardian spirit best expressing its tone and the native conception of the institution: "Your had better throw (away) our money now. I would like to see the people enjoy themselves and to hear all the shamans sing their songs."[73]

Though Olson is impressed by the differences between Quinault potlatching and that of the British Columbia coast, the two are much more akin than Quinault and Lower Chinook practices. This fact must be emphasized because geographical relationships are apt to create a wrong impression here. Were I to have encountered practices among the Lower Chinook which even approached those of the Quinault, I would in consequence have argued as vigorously for specific northern connections as I now do for viewing the complex as the result of cultural overlay upon a temporally old and widespread pattern of feasting and gift-giving, linking the Coast and the Plateau.[74]

But let us turn to the Plateau and examine actual practices there. At the Spirit Dance of the Sanpoil,

> Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on a long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom [an informant] insisted that those who did not give were not looked down upon. "But it made one feel

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[72] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, p. 93.
[73] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.
[74] Cf. Ray, *Historical Position*.

> better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, 431
> and the sponsor of the dance gave most of all. . . . All those who had danced 535
> received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the 776
> best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, 796
> they were the first to receive presents. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced.[75]

Regarding the Wishram, we are told that the singers

> gave some little things away; a few eagle feathers or some other articles they wore. A singer was not compelled to make gifts, but if he did not, he was classed as cheap, mean-minded, and selfish, and when such a one was hired to cure he was paid less than those who freely gave away their belongings. The belief was that one who gave freely knew that he had a strong spirit, would become a strong shaman when he was ready to practice, would secure the best of pay because he was more certain of a cure. Such a shaman could soon reimburse himself for the cost of these gifts.[76]

In describing the Spirit Dance of the Southern Okanogan, Cline speaks of the gift-giving feature as a "potlatch." However, his data not only belie the name, but are especially pertinent to the present inquiry. The general procedure parallels that of the Sanpoil. Like them, the host gave away more articles than anyone else.

> These were a *reward to the people for helping him to control his power*, they were likewise regarded as *gifts to his guardian spirit*. It was believed that the spirit would compensate its generous protégé by a run of luck in gambling or hunting in the following summer. David said that a shaman who received a blanket or other gift at the dance did not feel obliged to make a return gift, for this was like "pay" to him for his singing and dancing, and that the giver regarded the gifts as a simple loss of property for the sake of his power.[77]

The relation is obvious between this point of view and that of the Wishram, as expressed above, but a further parallel appears with Flathead practice. Among the latter the audience does not receive the gifts; they are presented "to the center pole." Turney-High writes that on the last day of the ceremony a

> dance is performed before the tree and *prayers to the guardians* are offered. As the night advances each person who has a wish prays and hangs a gift on

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[75] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 196, 199. Through a serious typographical error in the original printing the word "not" was omitted in the phrase "were not looked down upon."

[76] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 242.

[77] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 151 f. Italics mine.

431 the tree. . . . When everyone has hung his gift on the tree, the shamans ask if
535 everyone has completed his wish. If so, they give the signal to a chosen man
776 who wraps the tree in a robe as tightly as possible. This done, two youths
796 seize the tree and, rushing down the two lines of dancers, flee with it to the
wilderness where they hide it. No one is supposed to find the tree. But if it should accidentally be found, the finder must not touch it or remove any of the offerings or terrific misfortune would overtake him.[78]

The articles presented to the spirits via the center pole are merely tokens, without material value, such as bits of skin, feathers, and the like. This practice carries over into the Plains (see below); the selection of articles may represent a link with the Wishram. But especially interesting is the practice of disposing of the pole, which is paralleled among a number of Plateau groups. The Southern Okanogan, for example, carry the pole to the woods, where it is placed upright against a tree and abandoned.[79]

431 We have thus followed gift-giving, as a feature of spirit ceremonies,
796 from the one extreme of the typical potlatch to the other of purely
spiritual tokens. One last observation may be added. A Lower Thompson informant explained gift-giving in this way, "The largest gifts are given to the people who have come the farthest from home. You see, it is more expensive for them to make the trip, so they ought to have more."

I cannot feel that these Plateau traits are mere vague reflections of the coastal potlatch. In form and function they differ as indicated. Furthermore, the elaborated potlatch of the northern Coast is probably a relatively recent development. But the gift-giving of the Plateau is deep-seated, locally varied, and undoubtedly old. I dare say that no area in America would fail to show some example of gift-giving as close to the potlatch in form as most of Plateau practices.

And yet I do not argue that the two are historically unrelated. Each seems to be an areal specialization upon a long existing custom of gift-giving; the unique coastal specialization being by far the more elaborate. Furthermore, a certain amount of secondary diffusion of superficial elements has ensued. The ceremonial approach of the Lower Chinook may be cited; also, the formal nature of the distribution among Plateau groups near the Coast.

To be sure, the term potlatch might be applied to this simple sub-

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[78] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 40 f. Italics mine.

[79] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 147.

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stratum of gift-giving. But I do not think anyone wants to do this; it certainly would be confusing. The word would, in consequence, be applicable to cultures in any part of the world. Certainly Olson is not arguing for such a meaning when he contrasts the potlatch of the Quinault with that of the Kwakiutl:

> In the potlatches of the Kwakiutl and neighboring tribes the features of bitter rivalry, high rates of interest, destruction of goods, fictitious values, and the "fighting with wealth" stand out as pathological social patterns. . . . I mention these points for the reason that the potlatch of the Kwakiutl has long been regarded as typifying the whole potlatch system of the area. Actually it is an extreme type, an example of the lengths to which an institution may be carried. A potlatch like that of the Quinault is far more likely to turn out to be the proto-type. Its pattern remains fairly simple; no deeplaid plots, no egotistical mania surround its inception and execution.[80]

But it does involve formal invitations in order of social position, large accumulations of wealth, primary interest in quantity and distribution, a wealth tallyman, rehearsals, and wealth songs. But more important than all this, perhaps, is the fact that the gifts represented the *wealth of the host* and marked his social position; in distinct contrast to the Plateau where the gifts were *provided by the guests* as well as the host, and the amount furnished by the latter was no reflection of rank.

In a recent study Barnett has attempted to present sufficient evidence in its proper perspective to contribute to a better understanding of the potlatch:

> Above all, the present summary points to a more refined and definitive concept, and consequently to a more circumspect use of the term. It signifies not simply an exchange of gifts, for that custom is too widespread and diversely associated to be the criterion of the potlatch. Neither is the latter fundamentally competitive. It is characterized by certain formal requirements, by an implied equation of social worth with institutionalized liberality, and by its function as a vehicle for publicizing social status.[81]

We have been carried far afield from the discussion of the Spirit Dance as such, but may profitably remain afield for the moment. Lower Chinook ceremonies throw light upon the history of yet another aspect of spirit ceremonialism and of the potlatch: the secret society of the Coast.

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[80] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.

[81] Barnett, *Nature of the Potlatch*, p. 357.

### THE SECRET SOCIETY

535 We have seen that among the Klallam the potlatch may be combined
575 with either spirit singing or secret society rituals, and to either combina-
776 tion the same name is applied. Again, among the Quinault the secret
796 society rituals are sometimes associated with the potlatch.[82] But the
Lower Chinook society is cast in the mold of the spirit dance and well integrated with the spirit concept.

> Eligibility to membership depended upon two factors, upper class status and the possession of a "secret society guardian spirit." The latter phrasing merely implied spirit instruction to join the society plus the conveyance of the necessary type of power. Such power was obtained in exactly the same fashion as any other. It consisted of the ability to inflict self-torture, followed by miraculous recovery. . . . The externals of [the initiation of the novice] were identical with the guardian spirit initiation.[83]

These parallels, as well as the absence of the society-potlatch combination, are undoubtedly due to indirect influences from the Plateau. The nature of the Lower Chinook Spirit Dance and much of the guardian spirit complex points to the interior. The Plateau has thus indirectly affected the local form of a typically Northwest Coast institution entirely unknown to it. Even as far northward as the Quinault, the "society" is considered a special kind of spirit, obtainable in the same fashion as any other, but it is not stated that possession of this spirit is essential to membership.[84]

### THE SPIRIT SINGING OF PUGET SOUND

431 On Puget Sound spirit singing is frequent during the winter season,
535 but available data are insufficient to establish the exact nature of the
776 ceremony, or the structural relationship with the Spirit Dance of the
796 Plateau. The actual spirit singing and dancing follow the Plateau
pattern, but whether such activities are ever entirely divorced from the potlatch is uncertain. The latter is fairly well developed in typical form. According to Haeberlin

> The potlatch was a great feast given primarily for the distribution of gifts to the guests. Each person receiving gifts at such an occasion was under obligation to his host to invite him to his next potlatch and to give him an adequate gift in return. . . . If a man received one blanket, at his own potlatch he re-

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[82] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 121.

[83] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 89 f.

[84] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 120 f.

> turned two or three. . . . The sgwē'gwē' ["cultus potlatch" in Chinook 431
> jargon: "bad potlatch"] was held in summer when the salmon began to run. 535
> It could only be given by a man having the [wealth] spirit and was given in 776
> a potlatch house. . . . At this affair everyone tried to show the "power" he 796
> had. One man swallowed hot bullets and made them come out at his side.[85]

This indicates intimate relationship between the potlatch and spirit ceremonialism. However, the winter season was set apart for ceremonies specifically revolving around spirit singing.

> Any time from the middle of November to the beginning of January a man's guardian spirit came back to him and urged him to sing his spirit songs and perform his dance. . . . Then he would call his friends together and they helped him sing and dance. . . . These dances varied greatly in length, for a man sang as long as his spirit commanded him to do so, often several days. At this dance no shaman was present.[86]

The absence of shamans clearly sets this apart from the Plateau dance, as well as the variable duration and the limitation of sponsorship to those experiencing the return of a spirit. Lummi practices seem to lie intermediate between those of lower Puget Sound and those of the Klallam. But the data are so non-definitive as to prohibit any specific interpretations.[87]

### Intra-areal Relations

Though the Winter Guardian Spirit Dance emerges as a highly 177
typical Plateau complex, it is not found throughout the area. Indeed, 796
as implied above, it is quite as definitely absent in the northern part of the region as in the Plains or on the Coast. It is shared uniformly by all central and southern Plateau groups, namely, the Klamath, Wishram,[88] Tenino, Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé,[89] Yakima, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Columbia, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Lakes, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kalispel, and Okanogan. This is the familiar affiliation when a north-south contrast is found. The participation of the Klamath in this distribution is of marked significance since the Spirit Dance is quite unknown to the Basin and California. The sub-area of greatest integration and specialization appears to be the middle Columbia (Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil). This

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[85] Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound*, pp. 59 f.

[86] *Idem*, p. 61.

[87] Stern, *Lummi Indians*, pp. 54 ff.

[88] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240–44.

[89] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 262–64.

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is near the northern limits of distribution and indicates that Canadian tribes have been quite unreceptive, since knowledge of the elaborations of their neighbors must certainly have penetrated to them. The apparent inferior development of the Spirit Dance among northern Sahaptin tribes may be due to the fragmentary nature of our information; caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions. It is quite possible that the dance was equally as well developed as among the Salish prior to destructive Plains influence.

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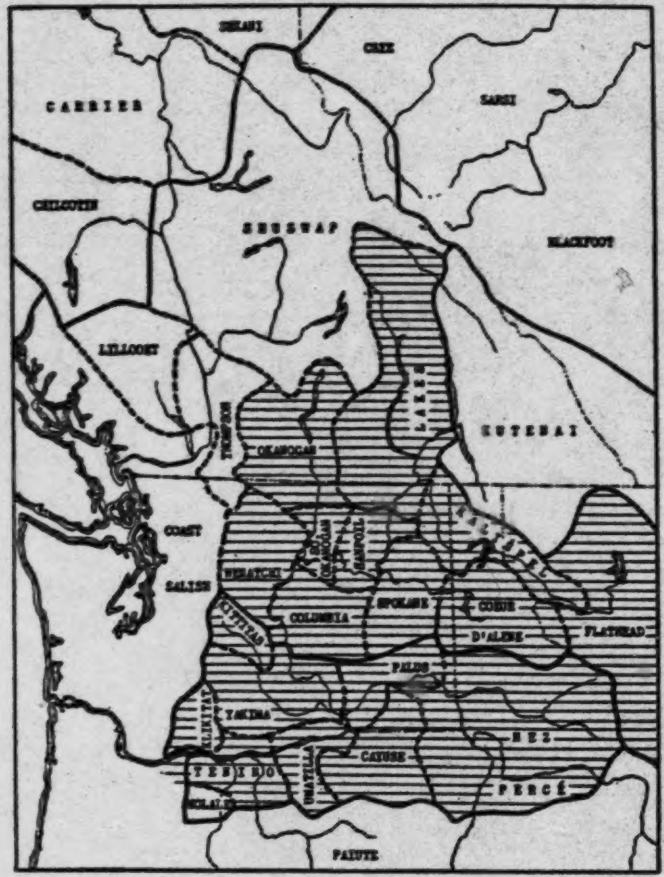
SEKANI
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CARRIER
SARSI
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAP
BLACKFOOT
LILLOOET
THOMPSON
LAKES
KUTENAI
OKANOGAN
COAST
SALISH
KALISPEL
SO. OKANOGAN
SANPOIL
WENATCHI
SPOKANE
COEUR
D'ALENE
FLATHEAD
KITTITAS
COLUMBIA
PALUS
KLIKITAT
YAKIMA
NEZ
CAYUSE
TENINO
UMATILLA
PERCÉ
MOLALE
PAIUTE

Map 16. The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance.

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It should be emphasized that the approach in Spier's pioneering dis-

cussion of the Winter Performance was fundamentally different from 177
that adopted here.[90] Spier was interested in indicating the possible 796
Northwest Coast source for certain of the *constituent elements* of the Spirit Dance. He emphasized particularly the season and the repossession by guardian spirits. The soundness of his suggestions is indicated by their unanimous acceptance on the part of subsequent field workers. But here the object has been to place in relief the essential nature of the Plateau complex, not to seek the origin of foreign elements. On the other hand, the indigenous nature of certain elements appears. Indeed, the Northwest Coast trait of possession, especially as a criterion of sponsorship, is found to be atypical (see above).

### ASSOCIATED PRACTICES

A number of closely associated practices demand attention. Initia- 535
tion of the novice, for example, forms an intimate part of the ceremony 771
among certain groups. Spier points out that 796

> There are two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. . . . From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possesser "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. . . . This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort.[91]

The initiation feature is present among all Plateau groups observing the dance except the Flathead and, apparently, the Nez Percé.[92] In a number of cases, however, the routine of initiation is present but no particular function is served beyond that of formal introduction of the novice (Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Umatilla, Klikitat ?, and Tenino ?). In all other instances it is essentially the control type, as opposed to the demonstration type of the Klamath. Since the control initiation is found throughout coastal Oregon[93] (bearing out Spier's presumption) the Plateau obviously participates in a far flung trait linking northern California and the Northwest Coast. The logical route of contact with

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[90] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 266 f.

[91] *Idem*, pp. 260 f.

[92] It is not mentioned in Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*.

[93] Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 188.

535 the Plateau is the Columbia Valley. Along that route the tribes closest 171
771 to the Coast should exhibit the most clearly the notion of "control."
796 This is true only to a limited extent. The Wishram, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil show equally developed, but locally varied, control concepts.[34] Absence among the Klikitat and Tenino may merely be lack of knowledge. The more distant groups, as anticipated, lack the notion but possess meagerly the form. The Klamath variation is intelligible in view of the route of diffusion. The Klamath demonstration feature is widely found in the Plateau, but in connection with shamanistic performances rather than initiations. The Wishram, however, reflect something of the demonstration idea in the initiation. But the
[756] Wishram initiation is held apart from the Winter Dance. Pertinent here is the fact that only the Klamath and Wishram restrict the inaugural dance to those who are to become shamans. Among all other groups the layman is initiated as well, in exactly the same manner as the shaman. Demonstration would not be particularly to the point for the layman.

Identification of man and his guardian spirit is a concept of restricted distribution, typical of the Plateau. A common element of the Spirit Dance is the impersonation of guardian spirits.

Another aspect, far more instructive for a fundamental understanding of the complex, is identification—as opposed to mere impersonation—with the spirit. Identification involves radical and thorough transformation from the normal human state to a condition in which all social relationships are abjured, and activities duplicate, as closely as physical limitations permit, those of the spirit.

Such identification may seem to do violence to the strongly developed duality principle. [As emphasized above, the guardian spirit stands in the relation of a powerful supernatural ally to man, but is not typically identified with him.]To resolve this apparent difficulty it is necessary to recall the native theory of genesis for the guardian spirit. During mythological times there were no human beings; neither were there guardian spirits. But the beings of that time possessed attributes of both. Their physical and psychological differentiæ were those of animals, but for the most part they appeared in the superficial guise of men. The animal form as such was taken only when an emergency demanded. They sought no spirit power since they possessed it inherently. "When people came on earth," it is explained, "these beings

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[34] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 145 f.; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 192–94.

*became* the spirits." But in the new era the dominant form became that of the 535
animal; the man-like form was taken only when in communion with men. 771
Human beings appeared at the same time, inheriting as their form the prevalent 796
form of the previous beings. But men did not receive the power to reciprocate with their spirits and appear in animal form. This was possible, in modification,

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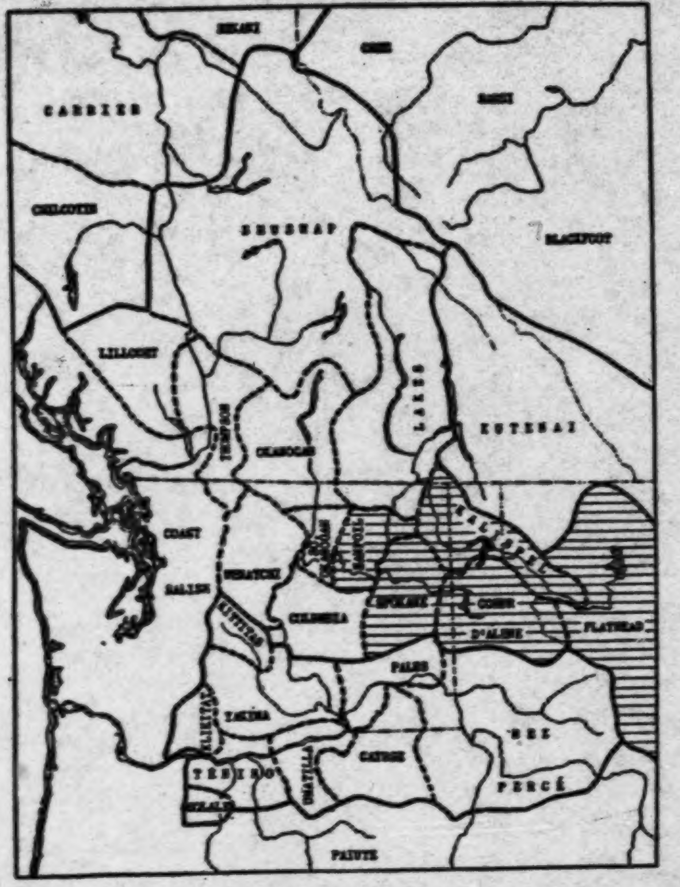
SEKANI
CREE
CARRIER
SARSI
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAP
BLACKFOOT
LILLOOET
THOMPSON
OKANAGAN
LAKES
KUTENAI
COAST
SALISH
WENATCHI
KITTITAS
COLUMBIA
SANPOIL
SPOKANE
KALISPEL
COEUR
D'ALENE
FLATHEAD
PALUS
YAKIMA
KLIKITAT
TENINO
UMATILLA
CAYUSE
NEZ
PERCÉ
MOLALA
PAIUTE

Map 17. The Bluejay complex.

only in ceremonial identification. This identification was not an amalgamation or substitution, but a reversion to the conceptualized form of the mythological being.[86]

Such transformation is peculiarly the prerogative of persons with

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[86] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 594 f.

535 Bluejay as guardian spirit. These individuals discard normal body cov-
771 ering, paint the face black, talk unintelligibly or not at all, perch in the
796 rafters of the dance house, act as sentries, and must be returned to normal at the end of the dance period by forceful smudging or shamanistic treatment. These and other traits show interesting distributional variations, but these have been treated in the paper quoted and need not be duplicated. The complex is found among the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead. I may add that it is definitely absent for the Kutenai. Since the paper was written I have visited this group and ascertained the fact, then unknown.

535 Associated with the Winter Dance of the Colville is a special type
756 of power performance which takes place behind a mat or blanket par-
796 tition separating the performer from the audience. No other group shares this practice as an aspect of the Spirit Dance, but the Kutenai observe it as an individual ceremony. (The Kutenai lack the Spirit Dance.) Our knowledge of the Colville affair comes from a description by Cline, included with his treatment of the Southern Okanogan dance.[36] A brief description of the Kutenai performance will be given here since it is not elsewhere available.

The Kutenai utilize the ceremony for the prediction of future events, particularly in wartime, the finding of lost objects, and the like. The performance serves to bring the spirits into direct contact with the petitioner, thus making available immediate help and advice. The performer need not be a shaman; anyone possessing a spirit is privileged to attempt the contact. A man's particular spirit is the effective agent in establishing the relationship, but that relationship is with the entire spirit world, not merely the individual spirit. The ritual is not a method of demonstrating the strength of one's spirit.

The performance takes place in an ordinary tipi. The suppliant blows steadily on a whistle as he "goes behind the blanket." (The ceremony is called, in colloquial English, "going behind the blanket.") Soon he reappears with his arms behind him, his thumbs tied to his belt. The knots are untied, he returns, and the same procedure is repeated seven times, or until seven knots are tied. Then one end of a long rope is tied around his waist. He goes behind the partition and throws the loose end of the rope over the pole from which the blanket is suspended. Soon the audience sees the entire rope fall, with a small whistle tied

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[36] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 152 f.

to the end. This indicates that the performer has been "cut in two" 535
by the rope; they hear the two parts fall. But the spirits reassemble the 756
halves and the man appears, smokes briefly, and returns. Now the 796
"Owl" carries him away; the flight of the bird may be heard. The sound of a whistle is also audible. This is the performer calling the spirits to take his place. The whistle used is that which was attached to the rope.

During these activities the audience drums and sings spirit songs. Also pipes are prepared and smudging is done. Now those assembled may converse with the spirits. One who so desires lights a pipe and hands it over the blanket. The spirits take seven puffs and return the pipe. If the tobacco is no longer burning misfortune is portended. A second pipe may be requested. The converser inquires directly of the spirits and answers are directly given, but in an unnatural voice. After the spirits have given answers to the questions posed by the audience, the original performer returns, his thumbs once more tied. He is untied and the seance is concluded.

The Colville performance is very closely parallel. Only shamans perform, however, and such power is conveyed solely through the possession of a specific spirit. Objectives of the seance duplicate those of the Kutenai.

This entire performance is foreign in flavor to the Plateau. This fact and its extremely limited distribution marks it as a local development among the marginal Kutenai, or elsewhere beyond the Plateau. Its presence among the Colville is conceivable only as a borrowing from the Kutenai. It is impossible to overlook the strong resemblance that the Kutenai affair bears to the shamanistic seances of the Eskimo.

But even more striking is the similarity to the Djisakid performances of the Ojibwa.[97] A brief quotation from Hoffman will make this clear:

> The Jes'sakkīd' is a seer and prophet; though commonly designated a "juggler," the Indians define him as a "revealer of hidden truths." . . . The lodge used by this class of men consists of four poles planted in the ground, forming a square of three or four feet and upward in diameter, around which are wrapped birch bark, robes, or canvas in such a way as to form an upright cylinder. Communion is held with the turtle, who is the most powerful man'idō [guardian spirit] of the Jes'sakkīd', and through him, with numerous other malevolent man'idōs, especially the Animiki', or thunder-bird. When the prophet has seated himself within his lodge the structure begins to sway violently from side to side, loud thumping noises are heard within, denoting

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[97] Dr Leslie Spier suggested this parallel.

535 756 796 the arrival of man'idō, and numerous voices and laughter are distinctly audible to those without. Questions may then be put to the prophet and, if everything be favorable, the response is not long in coming.[98]

"Startling tales are told how the Jes'sakkīd' can, in the twinkling of an eye, disengage himself of the most complicated tying of cords and ropes, etc." In a specific instance, a rope was securely tied about the performer's ankles, knees, wrists, and waist. He was then carried to the lodge, placed inside and the flap separating him from the audience was allowed to fall. After a few minutes, during which the lodge swayed and loud noises were heard, the performer called to the audience and announced that the rope would be found in a house nearby. Upon investigation it was found as predicted, tied with knots like those used to bind the performer.[99]

"A prophet will prepare himself by smoking and making an offering to his man'idō, and by singing a chant."[100]

The presence of this complex among the Plains Ojibwa has been noted by Skinner.[101] However, he does not mention it for the Plains Cree. The parallels between this performance and that of the Kutenai and Colville are so obvious that it would be presumptuous to point them out in detail. It may be added, however, that the Ojibwa practice of using a particular spirit as an intermediary between man and all the other spirits is an exact duplicate of Kutenai usage, not only in the formalized seance but generally. The profound implications of these parallels are beyond the scope of this discussion. I hope to examine them in detail in the near future.

Certain elements of the complex, however, show definite local affiliations. The formalism of the ritual resembles that of nearby Plains tribes. The use of the whistle is a specific trait showing Plains linkage. Smudging is found widely in the Spirit Dance of the central Plateau and in Plains ceremonialism. The search for lost objects proceeds by definite ritual among many Plateau groups, becoming a part of the Bluejay complex in some. Among the Sanpoil the Bluejay role is assumed also by those with Owl power; it can hardly be through chance that Owl is the only named character in the Kutenai seance. The trickery employed

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[98] Hoffman, *Midē'wiwin*, pp. 157 f.

[99] *Idem*, pp. 158, 277.

[100] *Idem*, p. 253.

[101] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 505.

may be related to that of the shamanistic demonstrations in the Spirit 535
Dance. The cord around the waist is perhaps akin to the one widely 756
used in the Plateau for holding the shaman while curing. But though 796
one may dispose of elements in this way, the complex remains foreign,
and persistently recalls the Ojibwa picture.

### THE FLATHEAD SPIRIT DANCE

Just the opposite circumstance to that above is presented by the 535
Flathead Spirit Dance. The organization of the ceremony is typically 796
Plateau in character, but certain aspects differentiate it from other
Plateau Spirit Dances, while still other features show affiliation with
the Sun Dance of the Plains tribes. The former are treated in another
place, the latter below. But it may be well to present here a brief sketch
of the dance, since it is not elsewhere available except in distorted
version.

The Flathead ceremony was first reported, by Turney-High, under the name "Bluejay Dance," thus reflecting the prominence of the Bluejay complex in its structure.[108] On the basis of Turney-High's data I have elsewhere attempted to show that the dance is merely the familiar Plateau Spirit Dance, telescoped to comprise but four days of activity.[109] Upon visiting the Flathead somewhat later, this interpretation was thoroughly substantiated by native testimony. Furthermore, the dance proved to be of eight rather than four days duration. Although Flathead Bluejay characters play a somewhat greater role than similar characters among groups to the west, their activities are restricted to the sixth and seventh days. Thus during three-fourths the duration of the ceremony there are no distinctive features of the Bluejay complex.

The term applied to the Flathead Spirit Dance is derived from the name of the special lodge in which it is held (stuwɛ'ɬ, the lodge; ɛ'stuwɛlwi, the dance). A single dance is held once each year, in mid-January. The sponsor of the dance is a man who has received a call from his spirit in a vision during the preceding year. As a part of the vision the dance lodge is seen. This visionary may be either a shaman (sxumaliyɛ″) or a layman (q̓le·kwi'ltc) but he must, of course, possess a guardian spirit (su·mɛ'c). If two or more persons have such a vision, one of the group is selected as sponsor after the matter has been discussed during the preliminary period of preparation.

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[108] Turney-High, *Bluejay Dance.*

[109] Ray, *Bluejay Character.*

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This formal preliminary period is of four days duration. Each day sweating and singing occupies the mid-afternoon hours. A special sweat house is built for the purpose, holding twelve to fifteen occupants. During the first days the location and other details concerning the lodge are settled, the sponsor selects the center pole and designates one or two men to bring it in, and he names others to prepare the lodge poles. The leader determines the direction and manner in which the strokes should be made in cutting the pole. The expedition is surrounded by ritual practices. Spirit cries are given before actually felling the tree. In bringing it to camp it is carried aloft, never being allowed to touch the ground. From the time this tree is brought in, the sponsor keeps careful watch over it, and over the lodge poles as well, so that their "spirits will not be stolen." During the preparatory period gambling is tabu and feasting is absent. Spirit songs precede each meal because this is an especially vulnerable period. Shamans observe a limited fast.

The dance lodge is erected on the afternoon of the fourth day. This is of the elongated tipi type, being constructed of materials taken from several residential lodges. Upon completion, the leader erects the center pole by fixing it in the ground. The upper limbs of the tree are allowed to remain.

At dusk on the fourth evening the sponsor enters the lodge, singing. Meanwhile, in their individual tipis, the others are dressing and painting for the dance. In each tipi, if possible, a shaman is in attendance to ward off harmful influences. Soon the dancers appear at the dance house, men and women taking places on opposite sides of the room. When all have arrived the leader changes his song and dancing follows. He leads the singing and dancing from his position at the center pole, keeping time with a rattle of deer hoofs fixed to the upper end of a vertically held wand. Drums are not used. All of those in attendance join in the singing and dancing, children included. In speaking to the audience the sponsor and all shamans are served by spokesmen.

After a time the sponsor gives way to another who leads the singing and dancing in similar fashion. Each shaman is given an opportunity to lead. Unnecessary conversation, laughing, eating, and smoking are all tabu except for occasional ritual smoking and talking. Shamans may confer, however, concerning visions and a shaman may describe his visions to the audience. Color and variation are added to the dancing by symbolic regalia and actions and spirit impersonations. The dancing of the evening is ended by a dance in which the participants encircle

the room four times. The dancers return to their lodges but the leader 535
remains. 796

During the sweating on the afternoon of the fifth day the sponsor announces, "Tonight we shall put out the fires for the Bluejays." Dancers prepare as before, but some paint black spots on their cheeks before going to the dance lodge. The dancing and singing follow the pattern of the preceding evening, until the leader returns to the center pole and shouts, "Now we shall call the Bluejays." A series of four songs is sung; during the last one the dancers utter animal cries and stamp out the fires. A great deal of noise and whistling ensues. Within two or three minutes the leader orders the fires rebuilt. As the fires illuminate the room, several dancers are seen to be absent. The leader addresses the audience (through his spokesman) at intervals during singing: "Our Bluejays will soon be coming; don't laugh at them when they appear."

The Bluejay characters appear with faces, hands, and clothing blackened. These are the ones who earlier painted black spots on the cheeks. Each possesses Bluejay power, the sole requirement for this activity. The characters carry miniature bows and arrows, crudely fabricated during the few moments of absence. They jump and run about erratically, climb onto the rafters of the lodge, and utter shrill, bird-like cries. Some leave the lodge and return with wood for the fires; others fetch water. The audience may now drink, laugh, and converse. Soon the dancing resumes. The dancing is normal except for the Bluejay characters. They sing a song of their own which conflicts in tempo with the dance song, and dance wildly about with no respect for order or time.

One may ask for a pipe. As he smokes, puff by puff, he shouts, "One year; two years; three years," and so forth, until six or seven is reached. This is apparently to speed the passing of time. As the characters dance about they pick up all small articles, such as feathers, strings, and twigs, that are found on the ground. These are secreted in the clothing. Later, a normal dancer may call out, "Let us kill the Bluejay." One or more may be selected in this way: a dancer approaches the character, saying, "Friend, let me care for your property." The Bluejay protests, but after repeated entreaties he gives up, one by one, the articles retrieved from the floor. As his "possessions" are diminished he circles about, faster and faster, shouting, "I'm rich; I'm rich," but meaning, "I'm poor; I'm destitute." Finally, when nothing else is left, he gives up his bow and arrows. Now the dancers say, "Bluejays, 535 796 sing for us that we may dance." During the erratic dancing to the irregular singing of the Bluejays, a predetermined dancer grasps the "destitute" character around the waist, a struggle ensues, and finally the Bluejay "dies." He is held head downward, feet in air, by his captor, while the dancers gather round. A smudge is prepared of sweet grass, sometimes mixed with a particular root, and the character is held over it. This brings him to life in normal condition. The black paint is washed off and he once more takes his place among the dancers. He becomes the center of attention as he tells of his "wanderings" while a Bluejay. Thereafter he dances as a normal individual. Some of the characters are allowed to remain untransformed until the following evening. The dance is concluded as on the fourth night.

The evening of the sixth day opens as usual with spirit singing and dancing. Later the ill come for treatment by the remaining Bluejay characters, or by ordinary shamans. These curing procedures are highly ritualized and brief. The power of the Bluejay to cure is restricted, since it is but an attribute of the supernatural form possessed at the moment, together with the power inherent in the center pole. It does not carry over in any way to the individual in normal state. The bulk of the curing associated with the Spirit Dance occurs during the daytime on the seventh day. At this time the services of regular shamans are available.

The dancing and singing of the seventh evening follow the pattern of the fifth night except that wishes for future good fortune are expressed upon the completion of each dance. At a signal by the leader, a shake of his rattle, all present give simultaneous verbal expression to their individual wishes. Sometimes the leader calls for the expression of a particular wish in unison, for example, "Throughout the following year may we have no illness that will cause us to lose blood."

[43] Toward the end of the evening the leader calls for presents to the center pole. Each person takes some small token to the pole and expresses a wish as he deposits it. Along with these gifts are placed the clothing torn from the Bluejay characters at the time of transformation. Now a dance ensues during which the leader shakes his rattle first toward one person and then another. The dancer indicated approaches the tree, gives it a slight tug, and expresses a wish. With the conclusion of the dance the leader pulls the pole from the ground and places it in the care of two or three dancers.

On the following morning the crowd assembles; the pole, together with the presents, is removed from the dance lodge and carried into the woods by those to whom its care was entrusted. The latter return shortly to the dance lodge and a period of indiscriminate dancing occurs while the lodge is dismantled, thus ending the ceremony.[104] 535 796 [437]

### THE RELATION OF THE SUN DANCE TO THE SPIRIT DANCE

In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that the Guardian Spirit Dance is not wholly unrelated to the Sun Dance. But the conviction has been born of reminiscent details and general impressions; substantial and sufficient data for the demonstration of the relationship have been lacking. It has long been known, however, that one Plateau tribe, the Kutenai, shares the Sun Dance with its Plains neighbors, the Blackfoot and the Sarsi. But beyond the bare fact of possession, we have remained quite ignorant. Until very recently we have suffered an equal lack of knowledge of the Flathead, who adjoin the Kutenai on the south and are the easternmost of the Plateau tribes. It has been generally assumed, however, that the Flathead did not participate in the Sun Dance. The Nez Percé, who lie south of the Flathead and are the southernmost of the Plateau tribes bordering the Plains, definitely lack the Sun Dance. 796 [177]

Obviously, then, the Kutenai and the Flathead are the groups indicated for study if the ceremonial relationship suggested for the larger areas is to be critically examined.

But before presenting specific data it may be well to review certain general features of the Plateau Spirit Dance which have a bearing on the problem. Superficially, the Guardian Spirit Dance exhibits very few similarities to the Sun Dance. The dance is invariably held in the winter, and actual dancing occurs only at night. The dances usually extend over a period of two months, though they are divided into units of four or five days. Sponsorship is typically the prerogative of shamans, though laymen may act as nominal sponsors at the time of initiation. All persons with spirit power participate; others act as spectators. All dances, songs, and individualistic regalia are symbolic of the various spirits of the dancers. As far as motivation may be generalized, it is concerned with the creation of a more intimate bond between a man and his tute-

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[104] The relationship of this complex and its elements to the comparable ceremonies of other Plateau groups is discussed in Ray, *Bluejay Character;* the relation with the Sun Dance is considered in the following section of this paper.

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1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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## TABLE 2. AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF TYPICAL ASPECTS OF PLATEAU RELIGIOUS LIFE*

| | *Aspects* | Klamath | Nez Percé | Umatilla | Tenino | Wishram | Klikitat | Kittitas | Wenatchi | S. Okanogan | Sanpoil | Coeur d'Alêne | Kalispel | Flathead | Kutenai | Thompson | Shuswap | Lillooet | Chilcotin | Carrier |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Guardian spirit quest | All boys, some girls sent | — | — | — | — | | | — | — | — | — | — | | — | — | — | | | | |
| | Pre-puberty | | — | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | | | | | |
| | Puberty especially | — | | | | | | | | | | | — | — | | — | — | — | | — |
| | Given object to deposit at destination | | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | — | — | | | | | |
| | Object of quest indefinite | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | | | |
| | One night vigils | | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | | | |
| | Prolonged vigils | — | — | — | | | | | | | | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | Vision | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | |
| | Spirit appears as human being | | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | — | | — | — | — | | |
| | Spirit appears as animal | — | — | | | | | | | | | | — | | — | | | | — | — |
| | Spirit may convey any type of power | | | | | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | | | |
| | Inheritance through instruction to spirit | | | | | | | — | — | | — | | — | | — | | | | | |
| | Reticence toward revealing power | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | — | | — | — |
| | Identical quest and vision for shaman and layman | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | — | | — | |
| Illness | Intrusive spirit | | | — | — | — | — | — | — | | — | — | — | — | | — | | | | |
| | Spirit causes intrusion of object | — | | | | | | | | — | | | | | — | — | — | — | | |
| | Spirit loss | — | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | — | | |
| | Treatment by drawing out process | | | | — | | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | | | | | |
| | Shaman served by spokesman | — | | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | — | | | | | | |
| | Spirit-ghost concept | | | — | — | | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | | |
| | Ghost is flame-like | | | | | | | | | — | — | — | | — | — | — | — | — | | |
| | Winter Guardian Spirit Dance | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | | | | |
| | Bluejay complex | | | | | | | | | | — | — | — | — | | | | | | |
| | Sweat House as deity | | | — | | | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | |
| | First Salmon ceremony | — | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | — | | | — | | |
| | First Products ceremony | | | — | — | | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | — | | |

lary, the impersonation of spirits, and a symbolic recall of mythological times.

A description of the Kutenai Sun Dance is now in order. The following sketch is incomplete, but incorporates the details most pertinent to this problem.

The dance, which is a tribal ceremony, is held once each year in the spring and lasts for six days. The leader is one experiencing, during the preceding year, an auditory vision or dream of the Sun Dance song. When the time for the dance draws near the leader requests his wife to prepare the Sun Dance doll, a six inch male figure made of buckskin stuffed with grass or deer hair. Two eagle feathers, symbolic of the dance, are placed in the hair at the back of the head. During the preparation of the image, the leader each day smokes himself by standing over a smudge of juniper. When finished the doll is placed at the head of the leader's bed where it remains until the fourth day of the ceremony. The leader now selects an assistant who becomes the master of ceremonies.

This selection inaugurates the three day preparatory period preceding the dance proper. Men are now chosen by the leader to bring in the center pole. The actual tree is selected by the assistant, who follows the dictates of the leader as revealed to the latter by his guardian spirit. Those chosen fell the marked tree, taking care to use the direction and number of strokes requested by the leader, again as determined in his dream. While returning to camp, the tree is not permitted to touch the ground. Upon arrival the limbs are removed, the bark peeled, and this refuse burned. The pole is painted and then placed on supports to keep it above the ground until time of erection. At the same time, others prepare the four foundation poles for the dance lodge, together with the supplementary poles. The preparatory period ends with the digging of the hole for the center pole.

The morning of the fourth day is occupied by sweating; the afternoon with the actual erection of the lodge. This is a tipi of usual type, but exceptionally large, requiring three ordinary covers to enclose it.

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* The table presents traits of religious life typical of the Plateau but not necessarily exclusive to it. See footnote to Table 1, page 67, for general explanation of charts.

For a type description of the shamanistic "drawing-out process," see Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 205.

Even so it is not large enough for all spectators; the lower edge of the cover is rolled up so that some may stand outside. First the center pole is raised to position. The assistant, clad only in a blanket, steps onto the fork of the poles. The frame is raised a few feet from the ground, then lowered; a second time it is raised higher but once more brought down; on the third attempt it is elevated to full height. The assistant, who has stood in the fork with arms outstretched during this procedure, now ties the center pole to the frame and descends on one of the poles. In the meantime the leader has called upon the Crazy Dog Society to obtain the lodge covering. The members arbitrarily select three tipis in the camp circle and strip them of their covers. These are delivered to the site of the lodge where others attach them to the frame. Throughout these activities spectators are present and engage in singing.

Inside the lodge a bed is prepared for the leader. As viewed from the doorway this is located behind and just to the left of the center pole. To the right of the foot of the bed, or near end, is constructed a tiny model of a sweat lodge, only a few inches high. Between this and the center pole a miniature smudge of juniper twigs is prepared but not lighted. All is now in readiness for the dance.

Just at dusk the assistant enters the leader's tipi and secures the doll. Carrying it, he circumambulates the tipi and then the camp circle. Upon returning to the door of the tipi he proceeds directly to the dance lodge where he places the doll in an upright position at the right of the smudge. The leader now enters and walks around the edge of the lodge to his bed where he sits down. Next the musicians enter and take their positions at the back of the lodge. These include several drummers and three whistlers. The latter stand directly behind the leader with the drummers at their left. With the beating of the drums, the dancers and audience appear. They walk in file to the smudge which has now been lighted. Some throw small fragments of juniper on the smudge. Those who are well return by the same route to positions near the door, while the ailing continue to the opposite side of the lodge. All the circuits are made in clockwise order. During this procession a song to the smudge is sung, called the "song of the dance." Great care is taken that the smudge be kept burning uniformly from the time first lighted until the end of the ceremony. The woman selected for this task remains constantly beside the fire.

When the whole group has assembled, the shamans dance toward the center pole. Each carries an object such as a feather, symbolic of his

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guardian spirit, with which he strokes the pole, now full of sickness because the doll has effected the transfer to it of the ailments of the individuals. The shamans make downward motions on the pole while dancing around it and singing. After a time they attempt to remove the sickness from the bottom where it has been concentrated. As this is gradually achieved the shamans one by one fall helpless to the ground. Members of the audience pick them up and hold them over the smudge in order to revivify them and destroy the sickness.

If the attempted removal proves futile the dancers have visions of guns or bows, symbolic of failure. The sickness then remains with the afflicted and another attempt must be made on a later day.

Activity at the pole is sometimes directed at other aspects of tribal welfare. For example, the dancers may attempt to draw game to the pole so that hunting during the succeeding year may be especially productive.

During these performances the dancers are engaged in singing and do not interpret their actions. The leader, however, acts as spokesman for the doll and informs the audience of the success of the shamans. All the while the drummers and whistlers are active. Their lot is a strenuous one, for not only must they perform constantly during the all-night ceremonies but they are not permitted to sleep and must abstain almost completely from food and water. The leader is subjected to unqualified abstinence but he is quite inactive, remaining on his bed throughout. Stationed beside the leader and also each whistler is a lad whose duty it is to walk behind his charge whenever the lodge is left and sweep off his tracks with a broom of branches.

The fifth morning is spent in sweating, the afternoon in preparations for the dance at night. The dance program is identical with that of the fourth night. But at dawn, as the leader starts a new song, the assistant takes the doll and leaves the dance lodge, following, in reverse order, the procedure of bringing it in. After the circuit of the leader's house he "lets the image go," to use the native phrasing. The actual disposal is never revealed. The assistant returns to the dance house and joins the others in a secular dance which serves to terminate the ceremony. Animal hearts and tongues, saved for a long time previously, have been prepared and a great feast is now held. Afterwards the lodge is dismantled and the groups disband.

A Kutenai Sun Dance leader must officiate for three consecutive years or invite death. Votary leadership is apparently unknown, though

796 a warrior may call upon the sun for help in an emergency. Sun gazing and self-torture have no place in the ceremony.

Leaving the Kutenai temporarily, we may turn to the Spirit Dance of the Flathead. Impressive evidence points to a relationship with the Sun Dance. There is no question of general classification: the Flathead dance is cast in the general mold of the Spirit Dance and revolves around spirit singing; it is not a Sun Dance. But the suggestive analogues with the Sun Dance—analogues which the Flathead share with many other Plateau peoples—deserve careful attention.

First I shall cite parallels with the Kutenai Sun Dance, abbreviating the references as much as possible. The leader receives his commission in a spirit vision; if more than one man has experienced a vision a mutual discussion ensues and one of the number is selected. A four day preparatory period is followed by a four day dance period. Preparations include daily sweating during which dance plans are discussed, arrangement of the dance grounds, and procurement of the center pole. The leader selects the tree and appoints those who are to bring it in; he dictates the manner in which it is to be cut and warns that it must not touch the ground. The lodge, of the elongated tipi type, is erected on the afternoon of the fourth day. The frame is assembled and raised, followed immediately by the setting of the center pole. The poles and covering are taken from several dwelling lodges. At dusk of the same day the leader enters the lodge singing and takes his appointed place. Later the dancers and audience appear and enter in ritual order. The dancers carry whistles. The leader stands at the center pole while the dancers circulate around it. On the fifth and sixth nights, smudges of sweet grass are prepared for the revivification of certain of the dancers (Bluejays). The sick attend the dance and are treated by the leader and other dancers. The curative power at this time lies in the center pole and is merely utilized by the dancers. On the evening of the eighth day the leader announces that "it is time to let the tree go," and dancers are named to take charge of it. The tree is carried into the forest, a secular song is sung, the lodge is dismantled, and a feast concludes the ceremony.

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796 These parallels, though impressive, do not exhaust the Plateau traits duplicating those of the Sun Dance. We find numerous further analogues among nearby Plains tribes. The Flathead, in common with many other Plateau groups, allow the uppermost limbs to remain on

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the center pole. This practice is unquestionably related to the placing of a brush bundle at the top of the pole by most of the Plains tribes, including the neighboring Crow and Blackfoot. Indeed, the Sanpoil speak of the limbs as the perch for "Owl," analogous to the "hawk's nest" of the Sarsi, the "bird's nest" of the Crow, and the "thunderer's nest" of many of the Canadian Plains tribes. The Plains Ojibwa, at least, do in fact leave the upper limbs as a part of the nest.[105]

A relation is apparent between the raising of a dancer in the fork of the lodge poles or nest in order that he may tie the center pole to the frame (Kutenai and others) and the Sanpoil dance ritual in which the leader climbs the center pole and ties the top to a cross beam with his belt. Also, a connection between this feature and the Bluejay complex can be seen: thus among the Crow it is the "bird man" who is raised; during the procedure he imitates the antics of his Eagle guardian, whistling and pretending to fly. Certain Shoshoni dancers "imitate magpies and rush up to a pile of meat, making the noise of crows or magpies, greedily snatching away what food they can, and falling all over themselves in their eagerness." These actions almost exactly duplicate those of the Bluejay dancers among the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Sanpoil.[106]

The offerings of cloth and other small objects made to the tree by the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Shoshoni, Plains Cree, and many other Plains groups, is likewise paralleled by the Flathead on the last morning of the dance, to the accompaniment of a song of blessing. This corresponds very closely to Blackfoot and Plains Cree practice.[107]

Smudging plays a very important role in the Spirit Dances of Canadian Plateau groups. Among many of these the material used is juniper, as with the Kutenai; but the Flathead and Spokane favor sweet grass, as in the Plains.[108]

Ritual "talking in opposites" characterizes the Bluejay dancers of the Colville and Flathead. The self-torture dancers in the Sun Dance of the Sarsi also speak with reverse meaning.[109] This custom is not by any means limited to the Sarsi, however, being found widespread in the Plains in various connections, and occurs in the Southwest also.

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[105] Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Crow*, p. 37; Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 254; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 191; Goddard, *Sun Dance of the Sarsi*, p. 279; Skinner, *Sun Dance of the Plains-Ojibway*, p. 313.

[106] Ray, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshoni*, p. 399; Skinner, *Sun Dance of the Plains-Cree*, p. 307.

[107] Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 249; Goddard, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshoni*, p. 403; Skinner, *loc. cit.*

[108] Cf. Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 238.

[109] Goddard, *Sun Dance of the Sarsi*, p. 280; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 162.

The name applied to the dance by the Flathead is significant; it refers specifically to the lodge itself. The same pattern of naming is found among the nearby Gros Ventre and the more distant Arapaho and Arikara.[110]

Flathead Bluejay dancers are identified by black spots painted on the cheeks and, later, blackened faces and bodies; in this they align with other Plateau Bluejay characters, for all use black face or body paint. The Blackfoot in their Sun Dance follow the specific style of the Flathead, while other Plains tribes use black in a more general way.[111]

Dancing for weather control, as among the Blackfoot and several Canadian Plains tribes, is found universally as a feature of the Spirit Dance in the Plateau. However, this, together with shamanistic curing, may be too general in nature to justify their use as criteria of relationship.[112]

Many other convincing parallels could be added, but those enumerated may serve to indicate the depth and intimacy of the relationships.

Either of two historical interpretations is possible. The two great ceremonies may be regional variations upon one theme, or the two may be basically distinct and the resemblances merely represent superficial borrowings consequent upon long contact. The latter alternative seems the more probable, despite the quantity and impressive nature of the parallels.[113] In most cases these are elements which rather readily lend themselves to separation or addition to the basic ceremonial complex. But it must be remembered that the "basic complex" of the Sun Dance is not easy to define. To a marked degree the ceremony is a concatenation of fairly discrete elements.

The Spirit Dance, on the other hand, is a highly integrated complex with the whole philosophy and content of the spirit concept at its base. Even the Bluejay adjunct is a compact whole thoroughly in accord with

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[110] Noted in Spier, *Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, p. 463. Exhaustive distributions for most of the elements discussed in the present chapter are to be found in Spier's survey.

[111] Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 249.

[112] Cf. *idem*, pp. 258–60.

[113] This interpretation was suggested and favored by Dr Robert Lowie when this chapter was read before the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at New Haven, December 29, 1937.

the larger concept.[114] Does this indicate a stability greater than that of 177
the Sun Dance? I am doubtful. The process of interchange has doubtless 796
proceeded but slowly; slowly enough to permit the orderly-minded Plateau peoples to keep pace with rationalization and integration, but steadily enough to produce profound effects.

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[114] See above.

# MATERIAL CULTURE

## HABITATIONS

342 Dwellings in the Plateau fall into three general classes: the earth lodge, the mat lodge, and the tipi. The earth lodge assumes a number of distinctive forms. These vary from a cave-like excavation, among the Carrier, to a flat topped pit, in parts of the southern Plateau. Thus the term semi-subterranean lodge, often used, is inapplicable as a generic designation. The circular pit covered with a conical roof is the commonest form encountered in the area, with its highest development in the north central region.

The mat covered lodge is widely distributed and exists side by side with the earth lodge. The name is not distinctive, but several of the forms which this type of dwelling assumes in the Plateau are definitely characteristic of the area. The commonest type presents an inverted-V lateral cross-section with a rectangular ground plan, or a plan with rounded ends. The mats are more often sewn than woven; the material is unusually cattail or tule.

The tipi, an obviously intrusive form, is found only among the Kutenai and Flathead as a typical dwelling. Another intrusive form, the plank house, is frequently used by the Lower Lillooet and western Carrier and occurred in earlier times along the Columbia River as far east as the Nez Percé.

### THE EARTH LODGE

The subterranean dwelling has a wide distribution in northwestern America, and again in northeastern Asia. Jochelson attacked the problem of relationship between these two areas,[1] and later Waterman gave the question further attention. Waterman concludes: "The fairest inference from the available evidence seems to be that the pit-lodges at least of extreme western North America represent the spreading of an idea from one common center."[2] Of Jochelson's assumption that earth lodges in America are generically related to those of Asia, Waterman states that the theory is now "somewhat more persuasive."[3] It should be added that Waterman posits a relationship between the subterranean dwelling and the plank houses of the Northwest Coast, since the latter are sometimes built over pits. Olson presents convincing arguments to the contrary in his study of the plank houses of the Northwest Coast.[4] Data from the Plateau, to the degree applicable, support Olson in his contention. (One exception is noted below.) 342

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[1] Jochelson, *Subterranean Dwellings.*

[2] Waterman and Collaborators, *Native Houses*, p. 42.

[3] *Idem*, p. 15.

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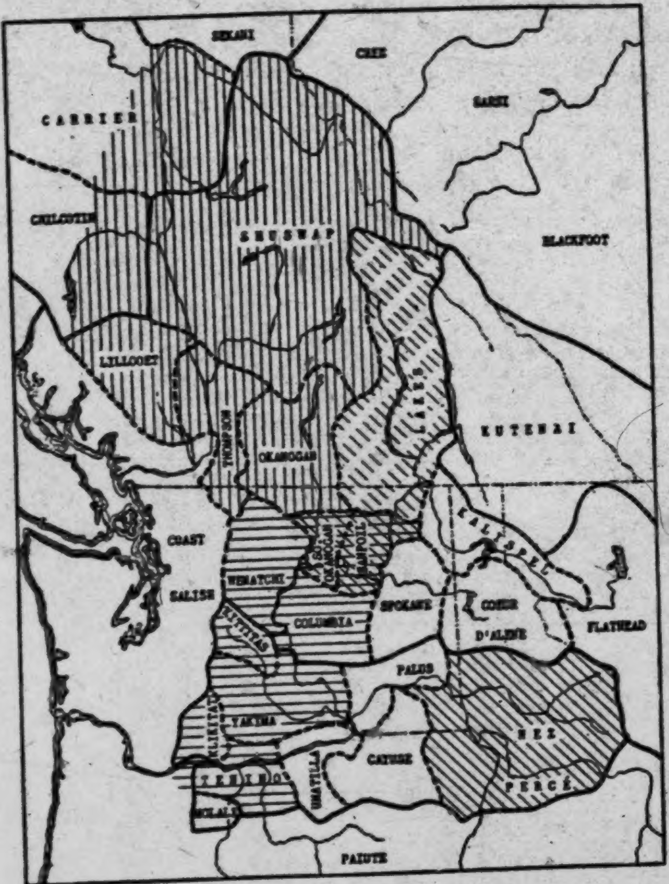
SEKANI
CREE
SARSI
CARRIER
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAP
BLACKFOOT
LILLOOET
LAKES
KUTENAI
THOMPSON
OKANAGAN
COAST
SALISH
WENATCHI
SANPOIL
KALISPEL
SPOKANE
COEUR
D'ALENE
FLATHEAD
COLUMBIA
KITTITAS
PALUS
YAKIMA
KLIKITAT
NEZ
PERCÉ
CAYUSE
TENINO
UMATILLA
MOLALA
PAIUTE

MAP 18. Earth lodges. *Vertical hatching:* circular, with rafters; *horizontal hatching:* circular, roof of radiating poles; *diagonal hatching:* circular, flat roof; *broken hatching:* circular, radiating poles with purlins.

But the present problem is that of a narrower area. The variations of the earth lodge within the Plateau are considerable. The pit may be either circular or square, the roof conical, pyramidal, or flat, and the 342 entrance at the center or edge. Further, the side entrance may be on the surface or in the form of a tunnel. These are not, however, randomly combined.

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[4] Olson, *Adze, Canoe and House Types*, pp. 26–30.

The exclusive type in the northwestern Plateau (Okanogan, Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, Chilcotin), excepting the Carrier, is the circular pit with pyramidal roof. The pyramidal form comes primarily from the use of hip rafters running from the edge of the pit to an opening at the top. The upper ends of these rafters usually rest upon vertical supporting posts. Thus the number of central posts is necessarily equal to the number of hip rafters. All use four logs to form a square hatchway. In addition, the Shuswap sometimes use six, forming a hexagonal opening which is in effect round. Likewise, the six planes of the roof present the effect of a cone when covered with earth. The four hip rafters of the Lillooet house, however, do not rest upon center posts at the upper ends. Instead, rafter struts are used, sloping diagonally inward from the middle of the rafter to the floor of the pit. The Lillooet house differs in yet another respect. The lower ends of the rafters are not set on the edge of the pit, but rather in the angle at the bottom edge of the excavation. The result is a squarish floor plan. The hatchway is sometimes a rectangle with the long side twice the dimension of the short one. This opening is divided in the middle with a log, forming two square hatchways. The exterior shape is modified, becoming more wedge-like. The Okanogan probably shared this type of house. In their case the rafters may have been set at the edge of the pit rather than at the bottom of it.[5] If this be true, it would provide a bit of evidence to bolster Waterman's argument.

The Carrier used an earth lodge identical with the four pole type of the Shuswap. Morice categorically states that it was borrowed from the Shuswap,[6] an interpretation with which members of both tribes agree. In addition they use a type of dwelling which may perhaps be called an earth lodge, but not a subterranean house. It is essentially an artificial cave hollowed from a hill side. The cavity is increased in size by building a frame of logs in front of the opening and covering this with the excavated earth. The walls of the extension slope from a rectangular roof to the ground. The doorway is at ground level, opposite the back of the excavation. This structure appears to be a local development, perhaps quite recent. There are no parallels among neighboring peoples. It may be suggested that this is a combination of the log structure of the upper Fraser and the idea of the earth covered lodge.

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[5] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 40 f. The informant's statements were equivocal.

[6] Morice, *Notes on the Western Dénés*, p. 191.

The Lakes pit lodge differs considerably from those of the Shuswap and other neighbors. A roof of radiating poles is encountered here, a type of construction dominant to the south. The central posts are likewise absent. The roof is sufficiently steep so that the radiating poles maintain their positions after being anchored in the ground and tied to the hatchway frame. The foundation poles are spaced about four feet at the base. These are crossed by horizontal purlins or hoops, both inside and out. Then stub rafters are placed and covering material added.

In the western half of the American Plateau (Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Wenatchi, Columbia, Kittitas, Yakima, Klikitat, Tenino, Wishram, Klamath[7]) the circular pit with a conical roof of radiating poles is universal. The central posts vary in number (Sanpoil: one; Tenino, Klamath: four) or may be absent entirely (Sanpoil), as in the Lakes house. The Klamath lodge is the most specialized. It is provided with an elongated hatchway supported by four vertical posts and four rafters. The result is a wedge shaped appearance. This method of constructing the framework is reminiscent of the northwestern Plateau; the wedge shape parallels that of the Lillooet. But an equally intimate similarity is found much nearer by, in northern and central California. Central posts, rafters, and the wedge shape are all present south of the Klamath. However, the particular combination effected by the Klamath is more closely approached in the north than anywhere in California, unless it be by the adjacent Modoc. The use of rafters is definitely absent from the Canadian line southward to the Klamath.

An essentially distinct type of earth lodge may be represented by the square pit of the Kittitas, Wenatchi, and Southern Okanogan. In all cases this lodge is supplementary to that built with a round pit. It may be nothing more than the tendency toward squareness, as in the Lillooet house, carried to the extreme. On the other hand, the four rafter foundation, which predisposes toward a square pit, is lacking in at least all recent forms. This, together with the restricted local distribution, suggests a development on the spot.

The opening at the side or edge is another new feature encountered in the square earth lodge; an entry at top center is never used. But the side entrance is not limited to the square lodge; it is utilized with the round pit by the Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Tenino, and

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[7] Cline, *loc. cit.;* Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 202 f.

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Nez Percé. Only among the Wenatchi and Kittitas is this the exclusive type; all others use the center hatchway for circular pit dwellings as well, despite Teit's declaration to the contrary.[8]

The side entrance is limited, among the Sanpoil and Nez Percé, to another lodge type, a pit with a flat roof. As built by the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan, this lodge consists of a circular pit, flat roof, side entrance, and serves as a secondary type of dwelling. The Nez Percé, however, use this lodge only as a sudatory or for menstrual isolation. It is the only earth lodge known to the Nez Percé.[9]

The side entrance is unquestionably characteristic of the American Plateau as opposed to the exclusive use of the top central opening in the Canadian area. But the side entrance finds widespread utilization in California and again in Alaska, and the central hatchway is known from Siberia to the American Southwest. The local relationship of the two forms would be simplified if the side opening were associated only with the flat roof. It is better adapted to such a roof than is a central entry. But the Wenatchi and Kittitas, who lack the flat roof type, utilize the side opening exclusively for their conical roofed lodges. Hence we may be dealing with an architectural specialization locally developed.

Other local variations in the south central Plateau, particularly the flat roof and simple conical roof of radiating poles, appear as imperfect imitations of outside types or deteriorated examples of older types. The hip rafter foundation and the sloping roof are structurally far superior to the radiating pole foundation and the flat roof. Yet the superior types are found consistently in the north, and again in the extreme south. Suggestive of the possibly older type are the four central posts, maintained, for example, by the Tenino.

It may well be that these less satisfactory forms have become so only very recently. In British Columbia the earth lodge continued in use until late in the last century. On the American side, in contrast, it was going out of existence before the whites entered the scene. The consistent native comment is that the earth lodge was the "old type" of dwelling, at one time the exclusive winter habitat. Gradually, over a long period, it is explained, the earth lodge was supplanted by the mat covered dwelling, so the latter was in virtually exclusive use in the late nineteenth century. As the earth lodge became more and more obsolete, it seems reasonable that it would have been made with less

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[8] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 227, 331.

[9] Cline, *loc. cit.*; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 198.

342 and less care. The reason for this transition is problematical. It may have been associated with the coming of the horse and the greater mobility, even in wintertime, thus made possible. The winter mat lodge is designed as a stationary structure, but can be moved, and is characteristically re-erected each year. The earth lodge requires maintenance of residence in the same spot each winter if it is to be utilized.

### MAT LODGES

285 342 The mat lodges of the Plateau fall naturally into groups based on ground plans and cross-sections. Other features are less definitive, both as to type and distribution. Framework, for example, varies in many respects, of which only a few are fundamental; most of these variations are local. The covering, on the other hand, is similar over the entire area. The mats are of rushes which are usually sewn, but sometimes twined or partly twined. Cattail or tule is used depending largely upon availability; tule is the more widespread. Grass mats are occasionally used by the Shuswap.

342 The ground plan has three essential variants: (1) rectangular; (2) parallel sides with rounded ends; (3) rectangular with one end rounded. Associated with any one of these plans may be either of the two cross-section types: inverted-V, and gabled with vertical walls. (The other logical variation, shed roof, is not found.) Specific combinations of plan and section present fairly exclusive distributions.

The Canadian area, excepting the Lakes, is characterized by the lodge of rectangular plan and inverted-V section, or wedge shape. The side walls slope from ridge to ground; the ends are vertical. Other shapes are not unknown, especially among the Carrier, where historic time has seen importations from all directions. Thus the vertical side wall with gable roof is found there, and the possibly related plank house of the same shape. The Northwest Coast origin of these innovations is obvious.

The great bulk of the American Plateau, together with the Lakes, utilize an inverted-V section with both ends rounded to form half-circles. These ends are constructed by placing radiating poles from the end of the ridge to an arc on the ground. A second type found in this area, but with a more restricted distribution, is logically intermediate between the rectangular plan and that with rounded ends. One end is rounded, the other square. This variant has a narrow distribution in the south central Plateau (Yakima, Columbia?).

342 A structure with plan and section identical to the last is found far north among the Carrier. This might be dismissed as an independent variation upon the rectangular plan, were it not for another feature which likewise duplicates southern practice. The rounded end is separated from the main body of the house by a partition directly below the end of the ridge, making the room itself rectangular in plan. A door is provided in the middle of this wall and another in the rounded outside wall directly opposite. Two compartments are thus formed, one on

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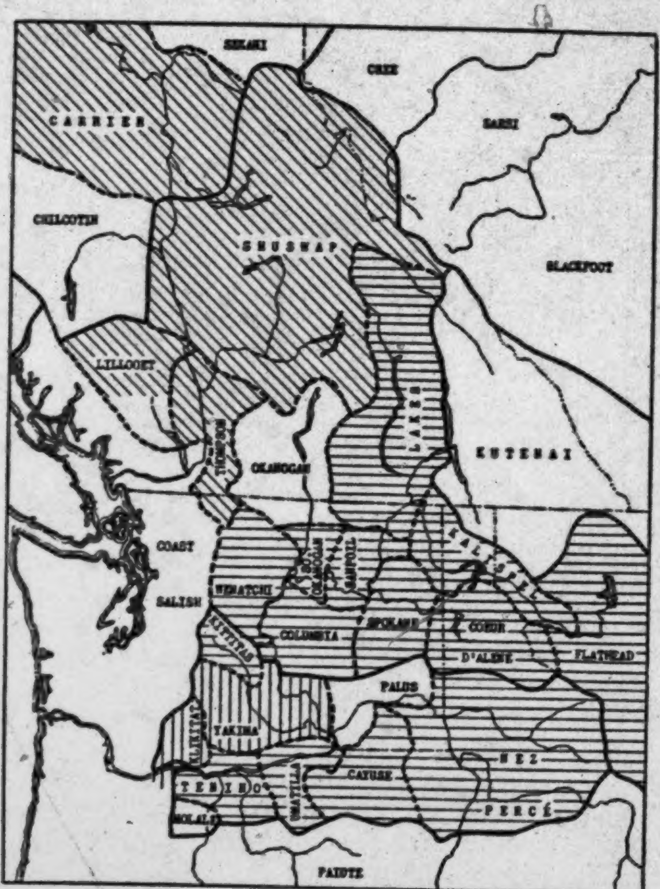
SEKANI
CREE
CARRIER
SARSI
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAP
BLACKFOOT
LILLOOET
LAKES
THOMPSON
OKANOGAN
KUTENAI
COAST
SALISH
WENATCHI
OKANOGAN
SANPOIL
KALISPEL
SPOKANE
COEUR
D'ALENE
FLATHEAD
KITTITAS
COLUMBIA
PALUS
YAKIMA
KLIKITAT
NEZ
TENINO
UMATILLA
CAYUSE
PERCÉ
MOLALA
PAIUTE

MAP. 19. Mat lodges. *Diagonal hatching:* inverted-V section, rectangular plan; *horizontal hatching:* inverted-V section, plan with parallel sides and rounded ends; *vertical hatching:* vertical walls, gable roof.

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either side of the entrance aisle connecting the doors. These quarter-circle areas are used for storage, as dog kennels, and the like. The partition and double doors are very effective in keeping out the cold. In both areas the arrangements and explanations as to function are identical. In the south the end compartment is not limited to houses with one end rounded. The same arrangement is found in one or both ends of houses with double rounding. The Carrier lodge differs in certain other aspects of construction, as might be expected. Rafter struts are used and the covering is of bark, brush, poles, etc.[10] Whether these geographically remote examples are genetically related, remains to be answered. A general relation seems reasonable in view of the continuous distribution of the wedge shaped dwelling but the specific features of rounding and compartments demand further study.

Still another type appears with the Yakima, Klikitat, and Wishram.[11] This is the structure with vertical walls and gable roof. The plank house of the Coast was once common among the Wishram and even farther up the Columbia River. It can hardly be doubted that the present form of the mat house is derived from these earlier plank structures. But the Yakima houses, at least, have the further feature of rounded ends. This indicates a combination of two discrete types.

The Klamath mat lodge is a somewhat circular structure built essentially upon the plan of the earth lodge. Conical mat lodges are common throughout most of the Plateau, but the Klamath structure is something more than that. Of especial interest is the fact that a mat is sometimes hung inside the structure so that a sort of partition is formed between the main portion of the house and rounded end. Since the occupants are thus protected from the outside doorway, it functions like the central Plateau or Carrier partition.[12]

The rounded ends of the mat house of the southern Plateau may hold the secret to the history of these structures. Several interpretations are possible. This type may be the rectangular lodge with radiating poles added at the ends to form the compartments and protect the occupants. Or more fundamentally, a structural limitation may be involved. With a ridge pole in place, side poles may be leaned against it with ease, and may be made fast with but little tying. To construct vertical end walls is somewhat more difficult and involves a different principle.

[10] Morice, *Notes on the Western Dénés*, pp. 189 ff.

[11] Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*

[12] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 202.

342 If, instead, the side wall pattern of sloping poles is maintained, the end becomes rounded automatically. Finally, the structure may be essentially the expanded tipi. If a tipi be divided vertically in halves and spread, a lodge with parallel sides and rounded ends is automatically obtained. The principal argument in favor of this interpretation is present day practice of the Flathead. To form their "long house" they erect two tipi frames at the proper distance, set a ridge pole from one to the other, add intermediate poles, and place the covering. Against this interpretation are several technical aspects of construction. The typical lodge of the Plateau is not, in fact, two tipis with connecting poles.

So much for the possibilities. The final answer must be based upon the examination of many more details of construction than those presented here, and the consideration of forms over a greater area than the Plateau alone.

### BOATS AND CANOES

501 Canoes of the dugout type occur in all parts of the Plateau except among the Flathead. In the Flathead area only the bark canoe, in the west, and the bull boat, in the east, are known. In the northern part of the Plateau the dugout is of distinctly secondary importance, with the bark canoe in first place. The Shuswap and Chilcotin say that the dugout is recent, or at least that it was rare before the coming of metal tools. But all are acquainted with methods of hollowing by burning, except the Kutenai. Hence it seems unlikely that metal tools effected a wholly novel innovation, but rather that they merely increased the use of dugouts. The bark canoes continued to hold first place; the appearance is not that of the introduction of a whole new complex. Teit has asserted that dugout canoes were unknown to the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokane, Kalispel, and Sanpoil.[13] This is explicitly and consistently denied today by informants from all these groups. They have no difficulty in providing information as to ancient techniques; the descriptions are technically plausible and fit into the regional pattern. As far as the Sanpoil are concerned, Teit's information is unquestionably in error. They not only had dugouts but used them extensively. Furthermore, the types built were quite specialized; one was a shovel-nose type with flat, projecting prow and stern; the other was provided with a sharp bow and stern.[14]

Olson has classified the canoes of the Northwest into three types of a general nature.

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[13] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 108, 248, 350.

[14] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 118 f.

The "shovel-nose" pattern is characterized by rounded prow and stern, sloping upward to a squared end, with a straight gunwale line from prow to stern, and the absence of separate bow and stern pieces. The Nutka or "Chinook" type is pointed at both ends, the bow projects upward and forward and, except on small canoes, is a separate piece. The stern is vertical and raised above the level of the gunwales, the upper portion in all larger canoes being a separate piece. The cross-section is angular, the bottom being almost flat. The Northern canoe is characterized by raised and projecting bow and stern formed of separate pieces, by the vertical cut-water, and by the rounded cross-section.[15]

Of these only the first two appear in the Plateau. The shovel-nose is quite general in distribution, but the Nutka canoe is known only on the Fraser River among the Salish. Olson states that it is probably shared by the Carrier and Chilcotin but this is denied by informants of these groups. Even the Shuswap deny it today, although they are aware of its use lower on the river. Perhaps I interpret Olson's criteria more strictly than he intended, for he cites Morice as his source for attributing the Nutka canoe to the Carrier.[16] The canoe described and figured by Morice is a type quite widely used throughout the Plateau, but hardly conforms to the description for the Nutka form. The stern is not vertical, the cross-section is not angular, and the bow and stern are not provided with separate, raised pieces.[17]

This type may be described as rounded in cross-section, keel line straight amidships but curving gradually upward at bow and stern; the cutwater and stern are somewhat sharpened; the gunwale line is slightly higher at bow and stern than amidships. I have called this the sharp nosed canoe in describing the Sanpoil variant. The type is utilized by the Klikitat, Tenino, Umatilla, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Lillooet, Chicotin, Carrier, and perhaps others. The Tenino and Chilcotin substitute a rounded stern but keep the sharp bow.

Both shovel-nose and sharp nosed canoes are made of the same materials. The selection depends largely upon available wood, cedar usually being preferred and pine being last choice. The peoples of the American Plateau are forced to use pine in most cases although they obtain some cedar as driftwood. Cottonwood is frequently employed in the far north and by the Kutenai.

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[15] Olson, *Adze, Canoe and House Types*, p. 19; cf. Waterman and Coffin, *Types of Canoes*.

[16] Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[17] See Morice, *Notes on the Western Dénés*, pp. 114 f.

501 Bark canoes are utilized in all parts of the Canadian Plateau, and by the Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and western Flathead. Two highly distinctive types are found, with a third intermediate form. One is the sturgeon-nose type; another has undercut bow and stern; in the third form the bow and stern are vertical.

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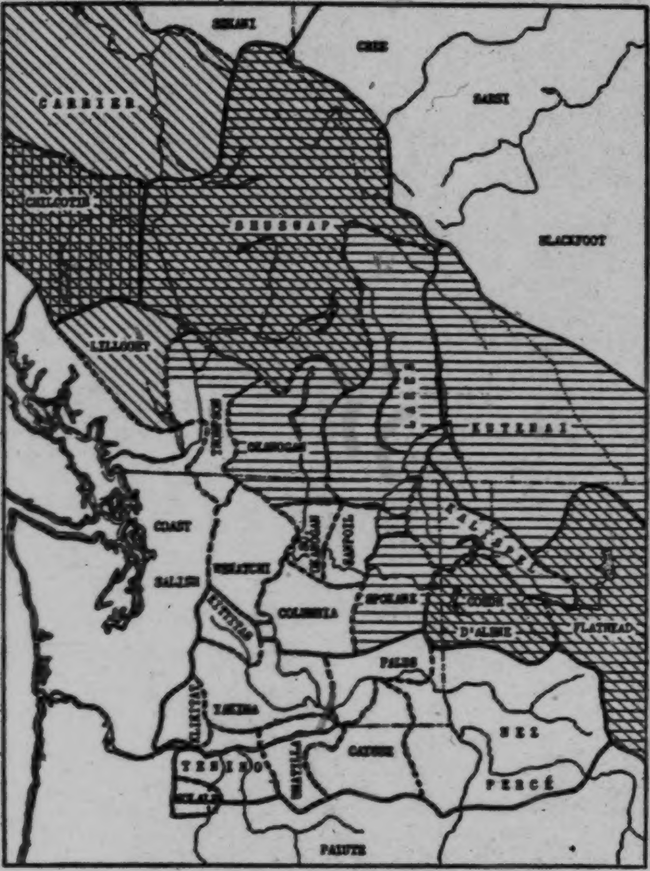
SEKANI
CREE
SARSI
CARRIER
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAP
BLACKFOOT
LILLOOET
THOMPSON
OKANAGAN
LAKES
KUTENAI
COAST
SALISH
WENATCHI
SANPOIL
KALISPEL
COLUMBIA
SPOKANE
COEUR
D'ALENE
FLATHEAD
KITTITAS
PALUS
KLIKITAT
YAKIMA
TENINO
UMATILLA
CAYUSE
NEZ
PERCÉ
MOLALA
PAIUTE

MAP 20. Bark canoes. *Diagonal hatching:* undercut bow and stern; *horizontal hatching:* sturgeon-nose type; *vertical hatching:* vertical bow and stern.

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The sturgeon-nose canoe is pointed under the water line at both bow and stern. The existence of this type among the Kutenai was pointed out years ago by Mason, at which time he called attention to

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the parallel with the canoes of the Amur in eastern Asia.[18] In addition to the Kutenai, these are used by the Kalispel, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Spokane, Colville, Lakes, Okanogan, Upper Thompson, Shuswap, and Chilcotin.[19] They are most extensively employed in the immediate vicinity of the Lakes and Kutenai. This distribution is probably exhaustive; it extends continuously in a broad area from the Chilcotin adjacent to the Coast to the Flathead bordering on the Plains.

At the two ends of this area appears the second type, with bow and stern curving upward. On the west it is common to the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Lillooet, and finds a slight utilization among the Shuswap. On the east it is shared only by the western Flathead and the Coeur d'Alêne. The third type, characterized by vertical prow and stern, is unique to the Chilcotin. Its occurrence at this point is extremely provocative both because of the extreme western location and the fact that the Chilcotin also possess the other two forms. The three forms in association suggest the possibility of a transition from one form to the other having been made here. If so, the transition must have been from the sturgeon-nose to the undercut type, with diffusion of the latter to the adjacent peoples followed by its extensive utilization and the gradual discarding of the earlier type. This would assume the absence of the bark canoe in the Carrier and Lillooet areas, and the presence of the sturgeon-nose variety among the Shuswap and Chilcotin. The undercut type is the only one known to the Carrier and Lillooet. The other fact requiring this order, granting the transition, is that the area of intensive use of the sturgeon-nose is far to the east. Such a history would conform with Teit's theory that the sturgeon-nose is the older type in the region.[20]

However, it seems far more likely that the vertical ends are merely a compromise in the presence of the two other forms; the result of an attempt, conscious or otherwise, to combine the two types. As such it would have no large historical significance, at least so long as the form remains local. It is true such a combination has not occurred in the other areas in which the two primary forms overlap. But it must be emphasized that the vertical bow is functionally very unsatisfactory, and would hardly persist, even though discovered among a people with

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[18] Mason, *Painted Bark Canoes.*

[19] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 531; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 255; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, *loc. cit.*; Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

[20] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 350.

501 finely made canoes of extensive utilization. The Chilcotin, on the other hand, are poor canoe makers at best. They waiver from one type to another, including the dugout. The bark canoe with vertical ends is more easily and quickly made than the other types. And, perhaps, not being deeply immersed in a particular tradition, they feel free to experiment with all.

Teit suggests that the undercut bark canoe of the Flathead is very late in time, being an innovation by Iroquois who settled among the Flathead as employes of the fur traders.[21] This interpretation is supported by the very narrow local distribution of the type. More extensive inquiry might make a definitive answer possible, but the larger problem can only be settled when sufficient data are available for an exhaustive comparison of the structural details of eastern and western examples.

The Kutenai and Flathead share the Plains bull boat, and the Klikitat use hides over a frame of uncertain form. The Kutenai and Flathead bull boats are makeshift affairs used for transporting goods or children. No frame is used. Parfleches (rawhide envelopes) are laced together around the paraphernalia to be transported. If necessary, brush is added for additional buoyancy. The Flathead boat is usually pulled by a horse, but among the Kutenai a swimmer tows the burden.

"Rafts of tule" are mentioned by Teit for the Spokane and their neighbors to the east.[22] The Kalispel sometimes bind tule mats on the outside of a bark canoe to increase the buoyancy. Rafts of logs are found everywhere except among the Klamath, Wishram, Klikitat, Nez Percé, and Kutenai.

[21] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 350.

[22] Teit, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 248, 350.

## CONCLUSION

Certain facts stand out clearly in the light of this survey. The 105
Plateau is seen to possess distinctive character in its own right. Many 177
aspects of culture which are integral to its organization are not to be found in adjacent areas. This indicates both the individuality of the area and the relatively slight influence which the region has exerted upon neighboring areas. This is not to deny the existence or importance of cultural elements of foreign origin. The Plateau has borrowed much from the Coast and it has taken much from the Plains. But the importance of coastal influence has probably been overrated, and diffusion from the Plains is in large part recent and superficial.

In most cases coastal traits have not penetrated deeply into the Plateau. The western fringe of the area has been markedly modified, almost made over in some instances. The Lillooet are an example. But the adjacent Shuswap have retained Plateau culture in almost full measure. The Wishram, adjoining the Coast on the Columbia River, likewise possess a culture with a marked coastal tinge. This might well be expected considering their position and the extent of their intercourse with the Coast as a result of their highly developed commercial activities. It is surprising, indeed, that they exhibit a culture as Plateau-like as proves to be the case. But this coastal aspect does not extend beyond the Wishram. Their eastern neighbors face squarely toward the Plateau; their backs are turned upon even those innovations accepted by the Wishram. The slight degree of class feeling that characterizes the Wishram is wholly lacking among the Klikitat, for example. The latter participate fully in the Plateau ideal of social equality. And yet class distinctions are the major aspect of distinctive Northwest Coast culture typically represented at the mouth of the Columbia River.

The characteristic cultural complexes of Coast and Plateau are surprisingly antagonistic. The matter of class distinctions is the best case in point but not the only one. Warfare provides another example. The coastal peoples are not warlike in the ordinary sense, but nevertheless warfare is ever present, the antagonisms involved are bitter, and the methods utilized are ruthless. What a contrast is presented by the Plateau emphasis upon pacifism! The tenacity of the pacific ideal is illustrated by the Shuswap. The western branch has adopted the coastal attitude to a degree, presumably after prolonged pressure. But the eastern division, in contrast, has clung wholeheartedly to the Plateau ideal.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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The process leading to Plains impress on the eastern Plateau presents marked contrasts with conditions on the opposite border. On the west the coastal elements were received gradually over a long period. A process of amalgamation kept pace with the innovations. But on the east very nearly the whole pattern of Plains culture swept over the adjacent Plateau in one great wave. The result was not transformation, as on the west, but mere superimposition. Strong emphasis upon this point is necessary because the general assumption has been that Plateau culture was eradicated in the areas affected by the process of cultural diffusion from the Plains. It is easy to understand how this impression came about, for the Plains elements give the effect of opaqueness despite their superficiality. The result is a sort of Jekyll and Hyde affair. When the one is observed the other cannot be detected. The objective guise is wholly Plains in aspect; the subjective guise is equally typical of the Plateau. An observer of the midsummer dances of the Yakima or Nez Percé, even today, might well imagine himself in the Plains; but one observing the home life of these same people could never doubt his Plateau locale. There is no question but that an ethnography wholly typical of the Plateau could be obtained as easily today among the Yakima as among the Shuswap. In the preceding pages the Plains stratum has been frequently emphasized, and sub-areal characterizations drawn on the basis of it. There are several reasons for this. In many cases the available data describe only that level of culture. Furthermore, important historical processes are thereby illustrated.

On the whole, the Plateau has been more receptive to detached elements of culture than to whole complexes. This might well be anticipated, but exceptions are not infrequent. For example, such a continentally widespread practice as the taking of scalps, in the course of warfare, has failed to gain any considerable acceptance. In contrast, the western regions share with the Coast the whole complex of the pre-war dance for supernatural aid. And again, the tribes of the eastern border of the Plateau adopted a war complex virtually in its entirety, not merely a dance or an attitude pattern. Nevertheless the Plateau maintained its identity. The central areas were wholly untouched; the adoption was strictly local though impressive in extent.

Several cultural sub-areas have been encountered in the Plateau. A longitudinal area along the eastern border (Kutenai to Nez Percé) is particularly prominent. Its basis has been discussed above. This sub-

area is characterized by a distinct temporal aspect. It almost certainly 105
lacked any marked distinction prior to the coming of the horse. A 177
western sub-area extends the entire length of the Plateau (Carrier to Klamath). This is an outgrowth of a similar process, that is, marginal interchange with an adjacent area. In this case, as in the other, the transfer has been largely unidirectional, inward to the Plateau. But in contrast to the preceding sub-area, this is not temporally qualified. Although extending the entire length of the Plateau, this sub-area is very weak in its middle region. From the Southern Okanogan to the Klikitat the affiliation is dominantly with the central area to the east, but the effect of marginal position is discernible. As might be expected, the strongest identity is at those points where intercourse with the Coast is easily maintained. This is along the great watercourses, the Columbia and the Fraser. The Wishram, Lillooet, and Thompson are the groups most influenced.

The characterization of coastal influence as steady and prolonged applies only south of the Chilcotin. Apparently the coastal innovations in the Chilcotin and Carrier regions are of very recent date and of an overwhelming order reminiscent of Plains inroads in the east. Jenness states that the western Carrier have been so profoundly affected by the Coast that very little remains of their original culture apart from language and emphasis upon hunting. Morice is scarcely less emphatic. The recency of the acceptance may be due to lack of previous contact because of a more eastern habitat. Both Jenness and Morice are of this opinion.[1]

We may now turn to cultural sub-areas of quite different nature. These are lateral in distribution and cannot be interpreted as the result of extra-areal influence, except very slightly and indirectly. Three such areas are clearly defined. The northernmost is composed of the Athabascan peoples: Chilcotin, Carrier, and Sekani. The second has been termed, in this paper, the Canadian or northern Plateau. The third is the American or southern Plateau. The boundary between the last two is roughly the international line. Specifically, the northern area consists of the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Okanogan. All tribes to the south belong to the American area. The Lakes are affiliated with the south in most aspects of culture, while the Kutenai vary but most frequently lean to the north. In a number of phases the Kutenai are unique.

This north-south division is the most definite and distinctive of any

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[1] Jenness, *Ancient Education*, pp. 22 f.; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 197 ff.

105 177 in the Plateau. It is encountered more consistently in aspects of religious culture than in other branches, but is unmistakably present in social and material fields as well. The cleavage is pronounced in those elements which are fundamental to Plateau identity, such as social attitudes, religious dances, spirit quest, house types, canoe types, and the like.

The Klamath, far to the south, affiliate naturally with the southern area. The variations that they exhibit are largely reflections of practices of California and the Basin.

Neither the northern nor the southern area may be said to be the more typical of the Plateau. The two present distinctive variations upon certain fundamental Plateau themes; upon others they agree; and each contributes its measure of unique characteristics.

In contrast, the Athabascan area contributes little that is distinctive to the Plateau. It participates in a number of patterns known to the area, but these are of a general nature or appear to be borrowed elements. To this there are a few marked exceptions. A striking example is the unique house type discussed above. A partial appearance of common culture results from the Athabascan and the northern areas participating in similar traits borrowed from the Coast. This appearance vanishes when only typical Plateau culture is considered. A succinct picture of Carrier culture prior to coastal modification is presented by Jenness:

> It is reasonable to suppose that before this change in their culture took place the Carriers were hardly to be distinguished from neighboring Athabaskan tribes; for even today the easternmost Carriers resemble the Sekani tribes to the northward as much as they do their kinsman around Hazelton, Moricetown, and Babine lake who have been most exposed to west coast influence. If we may assume, then, their original resemblance to the Sekani and other neighboring Athabaskan tribes, the Carriers were formerly divided into a number of loosely organized groups each with its special hunting territory, a territory that was not subdivided again among the different families, but remained the possession of the entire group. Fixed dwellings were unknown; the groups simply wandered from one hunting or fishing ground to another, setting up tents of skin or rude shelters of brush and bark. Inheritance and descent were in the paternal line, there were no caste distinctions, no regular chiefs, and no special class of medicine men. Religious ideas were relatively simple. All living creatures were believed to be more or less endowed with supernatural power, which if rightly solicited they often placed at the service of man.[2]

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[2] Jenness, *loc. cit.*

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Clearly this culture is one of marked contrasts with that typical of the Plateau. In religion the general statement here would indicate a parallel with the Plateau. But in details pronounced variance is noted.

The Athabascan area, particularly that occupied by the Carrier and Sekani, must, then, be set apart in the Plateau if not from it. The line of demarcation is a linguistic boundary only if the Chilcotin be included in the northern group. But the Chilcotin are of distinctly questionable affiliation and may be found, upon further study, to align rather with the south.

The linguistic differentiation of the Kutenai finds a slight correlation with general culture. but this seems incidental.

Again, in the American Plateau, a linguistic transition occurs, this time involving the Salish and Sahaptin stocks. The boundary crosses the Plateau laterally about two degrees (180 miles) south of the Canadian boundary. Thus the primary cultural division in the Plateau runs parallel to the primary linguistic boundary, but nearly two hundred miles north of it! The linguistic boundary itself in no way corresponds to cultural transitions, even of a secondary order. The Sahaptin-speaking Kittitas, for example, have far more in common with their Salishan neighbors on the north, the Wenatchi, than they have with their Sahaptin neighbors, the Yakima, on the south.

The crossing of the two longitudinal sub-areas and the two main lateral sub-areas creates a unique situation near the geographical center of the Plateau. Here all influences might blend, resulting in a more or less nondescript culture; or, older and more fundamental traits might persist here since outside influences would be greatly weakened in penetrating this far. The latter alternative appears to fit the case. The Southern Okanogan, Colville, Sanpoil, Lower Spokane, and Columbia may with reasonable safety be viewed as most representative of older levels and fundamental aspects of Plateau culture. A glance at the maps and charts herewith immediately suggests this; the text, I believe, confirms it.

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